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THE

Communist War on Religion

by

GARY MacEOIN

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INTRODUCTION

TODAY few Americans are complacent about the threat Communism constitutes to the things they hold dear. We have ceased as a nation to think that three million Lithuanians or thirty million Poles or three hundred million Chinese will sate its appetite. We know it wants the world, and that means us too. We know it is nearer this goal than ever before, that the lines of resistance are crumbling around the world and that our turn may be tomorrow.

But we are still hazy about the essence of the Communist threat. We hear a lot of talk about the danger of losing markets and sources of raw materials. They are real dangers, but secondary. The essential threat is to truth and freedom: that is, the freedom of men to be men, free to choose, free to move, to speak, to think — free to worship God. Wherever the Communists have seized power, they have destroyed these freedoms, wading through seas of human blood. A perverted philosophy which denies men any rights other than those granted by the omnipotent state controlled by the Communist Party compels them to do so.

This book tells that story as illustrated in the persecution of religion in every Communist-controlled country.* Starting in Russia in 1917, the Communists have sought unceasingly to enslave the minds and bodies of their victims. The first line of attack has always been religion, the most powerful bulwark of freedom, the symbol and expression of spiritual forces which challenge their conception of man as a mechanical and material contraption, a cog in the machine of state.

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* The part of Austria still occupied by Russian troops is not included. This part, unlike the Russian zone of Germany, is not a separate political division headed by a puppet government. Since June 1946 there has been free movement of Austrians throughout the country, and a single government with only four Communists in a National Assembly of 165 members. The area is too small to enable the Russians to set up a separate puppet regime in their zone.

Russia provided for the Communists the testing ground and pattern for their war on religion. The first attack was direct. They killed the religious leaders, seized the schools, the press, the lay organizations, the hospitals, charitable societies and cultural institutions, and set out to propagate atheism. They thought it would be easy. But they reckoned without human nature. Even after thirty-five years the Russians remained incurably religious. So they modified their strategy. They revived in Russia a so-called Orthodox Church, a Communist-led body subservient in all respects. They used it first to deceive the outside world into believing that Communism and religion were compatible. They next used it to complete their stranglehold on the minds of the Russians, propagating their false teachings through thousands of trained Communists foisted as priests on the Orthodox Church. And finally they used it to disrupt the Orthodox and the Catholic Church in the satellites and convert them into weapons against the other religious bodies. The character of this Communist-dominated body was brought out in December 1950 by the All-American Sobor of the Orthodox Church. At its meeting in New York it condemned the antireligious materialistic teaching of Communism, directed the omission of Communist Patriarch Alexei's name from all prayers, and ordered the continuance of prayers for the patriarchs, bishops, clergy, and the "suffering Orthodox Church" of Russia.

No religious body has escaped in Russia or in any satellite. Differences in intensity and timing have been decided by the importance of the different bodies in each country and by their readiness and ability to resist. Jews, Orthodox, Catholics, Protestants, Moslems, and Buddhists have alike suffered.

The present book is designed to show first of all the part religion played in each country when the citizens controlled their own destinies and were able to create the social institutions they preferred. In most of Eastern Europe there were deep political and social upheavals only thirty years ago, after the first world war. Yet none of the peoples tried to alter fundamentally the traditional place of religion in national life. Their system of close, friendly collaboration in education, social welfare, and cultural life, while different in many respects from the American pattern, was what the people wanted, irrespective of their religious affiliations. Life and religion were intertwined like the roots of a tree. Certain groups, mainly the Freemasons and the anticlericals, operating within the framework of democratic societies, sought to unravel and separate them. But these groups are today at one with the persecuted believers in the struggle for fundamental human rights against the Communist attempt to tear up the tree.

This book represents the collaboration of many people. The Communist war on religion in Russia is largely a matter of record. But the history of the satellites during the past six years since the Iron Curtain fell between them and the free world is as yet written only in fragments. The primary sources for these countries are men who were formerly known and honored in them and who today live in west Europe or America. Their names are not recorded here. The other sources are recorded in the bibliography.

The Communists consider no price too high to destroy religion. They have sacrificed without compunction millions of lives, the accumulated culture of thousands of years enshrined in and expressed through the social and cultural organs of the great Christian, Jewish, and Moslem bodies in Russia itself and in the satellites of Eastern Europe, the schools, hospitals, libraries, monasteries, cathedrals, and works of art. Today in China they are likewise tearing down the educational and health structures which religious bodies have been building for a century. Ignorance, poverty, and sickness are preferable to them, so long as they are undisputed masters. But the most remarkable thing about this war is its failure to make converts to materialistic atheism. Hundreds of millions of people have been raised in abysmal ignorance of the things of the spirit and in intellectual confusion about what little they have been able to learn. But murder, imprisonment, and scattering of people from their homes and friends over the fourteen million square miles of the Soviet empire have not wiped out religion. This fundamental fact gives greater hope than the military forces of the free world that Communism will not triumph.

1. RUSSIA

COMMUNISM'S expansionist tendencies during the past thirty years become more understandable when viewed in the light of Russia's messianistic movements. For centuries some rulers and thinkers of Russia have thought of themselves as lords of the world. In speech and writing they have called Moscow the third Rome, religious and cultural successor to Rome and Byzantium.

Lenin's triumph called for no radical change in this Russian outlook. Politically, it represented the substitution of one tyranny by another. Ideologically, it represented the substitution of the half-religious messianistic program of Karl Marx, his proclamation of the inevitability of the world triumph of the proletarian revolution, for the half-religious messianistic program of Russian nationalists. The outcome was the atheistic Communist, pursuing his fatalistic, pseudomystical aim with the fervor of the zealot and the single-mindedness of one dedicated to an end greater and more worthy than himself.

This background helps explain the undeviating Leninist-Stalinist insistence on the importance of the war against religion. The world empire is not only material but spiritual. Conquest is not enough. It must be accompanied by acceptance. And since Communism of its essence demands a subjection of the human person to the omnipotent state that is repugnant to the principles of any and every form of supernatural religion, then any and every religion must be destroyed in order that the world may not only obey but also accept Communism. From 1917 the Communist leaders have been crystal clear on this point. And the Soviet government has never changed its attitude.

Lenin wrote: "Religion is the opiate of the people. The dictum of Marx is the cornerstone of the entire Marxist world outlook concerning the problem of religion. All contemporary religions, churches, and all types of religious organizations, Marxism forever looks upon as organs of bourgeois reaction serving to defend the exploitation and the stultifying of the working class. . . . One must know how to battle against religion. . . . That Battle has to be understood in connection with the concrete practice of the class movement directed toward the elimination of the social roots of religion."*

"We repudiate morality in the sense in which the bourgeoisie taught it," Lenin said again, "deriving morality from a commandment of God. Of course, in this respect we proclaim that we do not believe in God."†

Paragraph 13 of the Communist Party Program says: "With regard to religion the Communist Party does not satisfy itself with the already-decreed separation of church from state and of the school from the church. . . . The Communist Party is guided by the conviction that only the realization of the developed consciousness of the masses in all socio-economical activities can bring about a full dying away of religious prejudices. The Party strikes toward a full destruction of the link existing between the exploiting classes and the organizing of religious propaganda. The Party works for the factual liberation of the toiling masses from religious prejudices and organizes the widest scientifico-instructive antireligious propaganda. However, it is necessary carefully to avoid every kind of insult against the sentiments of worshipers because this would lead only to an intensification of religious fanaticism."

The final sentence of the foregoing paragraph is of the greatest importance in relation to the entire subsequent history of the Communist war on religion, and first of all in relation to the Soviet law of January 23, 1918, defining the Communist attitude to religion, a law incorporated in the constitutions of all satellites as soon as they are subjected to the fullness of the Communist regime. It is a law deliberately deceptive and in fact contradictory in its text, evasive enough to offer the appearances of religious toleration while permitting the administration to crush all manifestations of organized religion.

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* Collected Works, Vol. 14, page 70. Quoted by Leopold A. Braun in "Catholics behind the Iron Curtain," *Worldmission*, December 1950, pages 75–94.

† Statement at Third All Union Congress of Communist Youth, 1920.

This law starts by proclaiming separation of church and state. It forbids alike local laws limiting freedom of conscience or granting privileges to any religious group, declaring that every citizen is free to profess the religion of his choice or to profess none at all. It forbids religious rites or ceremonies in connection with acts of state, public, juridical, or social institutions, and guarantees the free exercise of religious ceremonies, providing they do not infringe on public order and do not encroach on the rights of Soviet citizens. It abolishes the religious oath and gives exclusive authority to the civil power over acts of civil status, including marriage. Religious and ecclesiastical societies are declared subject to general rules governing private societies and associations, enjoying no advantages and receiving no subsidies. They are forbidden to impose obligatory contributions on members or to coerce or punish members. Such societies as well as churches are denied the right to hold property or enjoy legal personality. All their belongings are declared national property, and local or central government agents are authorized to hand over for their free use buildings and objects in a special manner destined for purposes of divine services.

Section 9, dealing with education, reads as follows: "The school is separated from the church. The teaching of religious doctrines is forbidden in all school establishments of general culture operated by the state, be they public or private. Citizens may teach or be taught religious subjects in a private manner."

This amazing law might have been drafted for the benefit of those who, without wishing to persecute religion, seek to establish a distinct line of cleavage between church and state. But in the context of the rest of the Soviet political and social system, and of the undeviating line of interpretation and application by the Soviets for more than thirty years, its true intent is revealed. All the liberty of conscience intended to be granted was the liberty to believe internally. Other laws enacted about the same time and still in force made illegal every political party other than the Communist Party. They forbade the publication of any book, newspaper, or magazine without approval. In Soviet-controlled territory the only publishing organization is the state. They forbade movement of citizens within the state or to foreign states without authorization. Without free speech, a free press, or free movement, the proclaimed freedom of conscience was automatically reduced to freedom to think. And that is all the Soviets have ever permitted.

Secularism has manifested itself in persecution in other societies, particularly in the passions accompanying revolution (as in the French Revolution), but with the establishment of the new regime, such movements have subsided into benevolent atheism or benevolent agnosticism, recognizing the equal rights of all citizens, whether they be Voltairean intellectuals, steelworkers, rabbis, or archbishops. They have discovered that they shared with religion a respect for the human person, for the individual's right to worship God or sell apples. Only Communism has been unable to proclaim a truce, because it knows there is no common ground.

When the Communists undertook to destroy religion in Russia, they were setting out to eliminate one of the oldest and most fundamental elements in the country's civilization. There is a Russian tradition, though it lacks historical proof, that the apostle Andrew first brought Christianity to that country. In any case, the influences of the Christian civilization of Europe were many even before the ninth century, when Christianity was accepted widely as a result of the labors of the brothers Cyril and Methodius, who translated the Bible and other religious works into Slavonic. Russians accepted the primacy of the Pope at first but later followed the Patriarchs of Constantinople into schism. This schism has continued to the present time except for a short period during the Council of Florence in the fifteenth century. The religious quarrel did not, however, involve the severance of all ties with the west. The Pope was generally represented at the Moscow court to the time of Peter the Great, and even many Orthodox leaders conducted negotiations for religious reunion.

Orthodoxy was at all times a state religion, enjoying high privileges especially after the Czar became head of the Church. The state attitude toward other religions was one of unfriendly tolerance. Russia was the home of the anti-Jewish pogrom, a technique which involved the systematic destruction of entire Jewish villages. The pogrom has been as characteristic of Communist as it was of Czarist Russia. The attitude toward Catholics varied according to the rite they followed. Those of the Oriental Rite, whether Byzantine or Armenian, were always regarded as rightly members of the Orthodox Church and therefore renegades by reason of their acceptance of papal supremacy. They felt the main weight of Czarist persecution, as later they were similarly singled out by the Communists both in Russia and in the satellites. Latin Catholics were generally regarded as non-Russians and in consequence were not molested to the same extent. The large numbers of Latin Catholics annexed at the partitions of Poland in the eighteenth century and at the absorption of Lithuania came under sporadic pressure to embrace Orthodoxy and thus merge themselves politically in Russia.

These millions of Latin Catholics were the cause of many changes of religious policy in an empire which hitherto had been almost entirely Orthodox. They compelled the renewal of relations with the Holy See, broken off by Peter the Great. Catherine II decided that the simplest solution would be to force Orthodoxy on them, but her plan didn't succeed. In 1847 a concordat was signed but its terms were never faithfully observed, and in a short time it was repudiated. Another concordat was signed in 1882, but it in turn was made inoperative by subsequent laws. The year 1905 brought a new change of policy. The defeat by Japan was followed by revolutionary outbreaks which forced the Czar to establish parliamentary government and proclaim religious tolerance. Conversions to Catholicism followed at such a rate that the Orthodox Synod called for new laws against the Catholics, and a new era of persecution was inaugurated.

From the moment the Communists seized power in Russia in 1917, they set out to annihilate all religions. Their primary aim was to destroy religious organization and eliminate all religious influences in social life, then to wipe out all ministers of religion. This plan, they believed, would mean the rapid withering of religious beliefs, because the individual believers would cease to have any organic contact and would in addition be deprived of the rites and comforts of their religion as well as of effective means of becoming or remaining familiar with its doctrines and passing them on to their children.

The already-mentioned law of January 23, 1918, went a long way toward achieving these objects. It forbade any manifestations of religion outside the church buildings by its prohibition of religious ceremonies in public or social functions. It gave the administration a further weapon by leaving to it to decide that any religious ceremony infringed public order or encroached on the rights of a Soviet citizen. Its prohibition of religious instruction other than in a private manner made instruction even of small groups impossible.

This restriction was extended by Article 122 of the Criminal Code, which made it a crime carrying punishment of one year's correctional labor to teach religion to children and minors, either in public or in private. It withdrew all control of religious bodies over their members by its prohibition of coercion or punishment. At one stroke it confiscated all the property of all the churches and prevented them from ever holding any property, real or personal. As to the clause authorizing the authorities to make nationalized religious edifices available for worship, an American priest, Father Leopold Braun, who officiated at the Church of St. Louis in Moscow from 1934 to 1945 under an agreement between the United States and Soviet Russia guaranteeing freedom of religious worship for United States citizens in Russia, has stated* that to his knowledge the Soviet authorities never made available for Catholic worship in the entire territory any church other than this Church of St. Louis. The reason for the exception to an unalterable policy was that the church was traditionally the place of worship of foreign diplomats and their families. When the Communists seized power, there were 3,300 Catholic churches and 2,000 chapels in Russia.

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* *Worldmission,* December 1950, *loc. cit.*

In the following years there has been no change of policy on religion. Article 124 of the Soviet Constitution of 1936 confirms and strengthens the antireligious provisions of the law of 1918. It reads: "In order to ensure to citizens freedom of conscience, the church in the U.S.S.R. is separated from the state, and the school from the church. Freedom of religious worship and freedom of antireligious propaganda is recognized for all citizens." The contrast in the final sentence is noteworthy. The believer may believe, no more; the unbeliever alone may propagate his unbelief.

Father Braun quotes a statement made in his presence by Justice Commissar Krylenko, which illustrates vividly the official attitude. "You all know," said Krylenko, "what the attitude of the Soviet government is with regard to religion. If citizens wish to bury their dead with religious ceremonies, let them do so. If they wish to bury their potatoes with religious ceremonies, let them also do so."

Stalin's own point of view was expressed by him on an occasion on which he can be fairly assumed to have understated rather than overstated his policy. Asked in 1927 by an American labor delegation if a good Communist could be a church member, he replied:

"I don't know of any good Communists of the kind mentioned by the delegation. In general, such Communists hardly exist in nature. . . . Does this mean that the Party is neutral with regard to religion? No, it does not. . . . The Party cannot be neutral with regard to religion and it carries on antireligious propaganda against *any and all* types of religious prejudices because it stands for science . . . because that is one of the true means of undermining the influence of the reactionary clergy. . . . We have annihilated the reactionary clergy. . . . The trouble is that it is not yet completely liquidated."

Father Braun, from his eleven years' experience in Moscow, testifies that the Bolsheviks never deviated from their plan to exterminate religion. Ministers of religion, priests, rabbis, mullahs, and others remained the constant targets of their tactics of annihilation.

A secret five-year plan, he asserts, called for the total extermination of religion in the Soviet Union by 1937. But like the other five-year plans, it was not realized. As late as 1943, Kalinin was forced to recognize that religious sentiments and convictions were still strongly manifested even in the Red army, a tremendously significant fact when it is remembered that those armies had been deprived of all chaplains for twenty-six years.

Together with the crushing of religious organization, the Communists used the massed might of their propaganda machine to wipe out the notion of God and of the supernatural. Every state school — and no other schools were or are tolerated — taught atheism. Churches were transformed into antireligious museums. Speakers on the radio, at workers' meetings, at official functions propagated the official atheism. All newspapers and magazines, as well as an avalanche of pamphlets, posters, and books in all the important languages of the Soviet Union, hammered incessantly on the same theme. Antireligious plays, sketches, and films spread the message in all theaters and carried it to the most distant villages by means of mobile units. Libraries and reading rooms were crammed with godless literature, while a ruthless censorship searched out and destroyed every written page that might challenge the official teaching.

Not only the clergy but all lay people who took part in religious functions, such as church council members, choir members, or ushers, were intimidated, arbitrarily arrested, deported, or killed. All young people were forcibly enrolled in the Communist Youth, while all other associations were suppressed. Buildings used for religious services were subjected to discriminatory taxes. They had even to pay higher rates for their electricity. State-owned shops and stores refused to sell building and repair materials for use in such buildings, or to sell fuel of any kind to churches or to ministers of religion. Exorbitant personal taxes were levied on ministers of religion, who were classed as parasites. Demonstrations were organized to demand the closing of churches, and clergymen were prevented from holding services by arbitrary refusal to register them. For a long period, a week having only five days in place of the seven-day week was enforced, so as to prevent the observance of the Sunday rest.

Pressure was brought to bear on foreign visiting artists to prevent the inclusion of numbers favoring or even illustrating religious sentiments. The schools discriminated against the children of Orthodox priests and those of known worshipers. Antireligious agitators and propagandists were trained at state expense, a program which has been stepped up in the past five years and expanded to include the training of Communists in theology and ritual so that they can pose as clergymen of different denominations. Priceless objects of religious art were ruthlessly destroyed where they could not be sold abroad for gold or needed foreign currency. The manufacture of objects destined for religious use has been and is prohibited. Religious literature found in private homes by the police is arbitrarily classed as counterrevolutionary, exposing the owners to severe punishment. This classification has facilitated the wholesale deportation of clergymen.*

The Communists stopped at nothing to effect their purpose. At the Christmas season they organized blasphemous antireligious carnivals. They contrived ingenious ways to desecrate churches. And they used ruthlessly their most deadly weapon, discrimination against all who openly professed their religion. Since they controlled both education and all economic activity, there was no escape. The young had to choose between God and a career. They could not serve God and the state, for the state would not permit it.

And still religion survived. A census of 1937 elicited from more than half the adult population the statement that they still believed in God. It was a tremendous setback for the Communists. Their reaction was an intensification of persecution which for the following two years was far more horrible than at any previous time. Religion in Russia was forced into the catacombs.

Then, in April 1939, the persecution stopped. No orders or decrees were revoked. No laws were altered. The change was merely one of enforcement. Then the Communist papers began to propagate a new line. There were good and bad religions, they said, and Orthodoxy was good. The anti-God propaganda took a new form. It concentrated on glorification of science, which it asserted would lead people to realize that religion was only superstition. But meanwhile it became possible again for believers to participate in civil life.

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* See already-mentioned article by Father Braun in *Worldmission*, December 1950.

The reason for the change was a very simple one. The Communists foresaw war with Hitler, and they feared above everything that if the Germans invaded and proclaimed religious liberty it would cause a collapse. So they made a compromise with the Orthodox leaders, under which Orthodoxy would give wholehearted support to the regime in return for permission to conduct religious services freely. When the German invasion came, Sergius excommunicated all who cooperated with the German army and ordered prayers for the victory of the Red army. The government circulated millions of copies of his pastoral letter, authorized the raising of funds through the Orthodox Church for the army and even permitted giving names of Orthodox saints to army tanks. When it was found in reoccupied territory that the Nazis had desecrated churches, the Communists, who for years had been desecrating Russian churches, publicly expressed their indignation and communicated it officially to the Orthodox Church. Their printing presses for the first time turned out a religious booklet, describing the sacrileges committed by the Nazis, a booklet which carried the names of the Orthodox bishops.

In 1943 *Izvestia,* official organ of the state, announced that Stalin and Sergius had met and that the state had no objection to the election of a patriarch. Sergius became Patriarch of All Russians and was given one of Moscow's finest palaces (the former German embassy) and an American car. At his enthronement the Communist government was represented. He was allowed to publish an official journal. The Communists brought to Moscow, for the election of his successor, Orthodox bishops from the Balkans and the Near East in Soviet planes. The festivities on Alexei's election included a patriotic religious concert. A 1945 decree permitted the ringing of church bells. Parishes were allowed to have funds. Local soviets were allowed to help the churches.

Alexei was given the Order of the Red Banner. He publicly praised the Soviet government and condemned the Vatican, Washington, and London. In 1948, for the 500th anniversary of the founding of the Russian autocephalous church, Soviet planes again carried Orthodox bishops from the Balkan satellites and the Near East to Moscow. Many people were happy. It looked like the revival of the old dream of a third Rome, new center of Christianity.

Some statistics have emerged as a result of this new policy. Prerevolution Russia had about 100 Orthodox bishops. Now there are again 80, and some 25,000 parishes are functioning. Nobody knew there were any monasteries until a decree was published exempting them from taxation. It appears there are 90. Great numbers attend the Orthodox churches, confessing and receiving Holy Communion.

For this permission to exist, the Orthodox Church has paid highly. The state's atheistic policy is unchanged. The schoolbooks still teach it. The dignitaries of the Orthodox Church must declare their support of the government, both as regards internal and foreign policy, and by implication approve its official atheism. The state controls the seminaries in which students are prepared for the Orthodox priesthood and selects professors and textbooks. It is believed that the Communist agents trained in theology and masquerading as priests are being infiltrated into the Orthodox Church in Russia as well as in the satellites.

For both parties the present situation is only a compromise based on expediency. It represented a tremendous admission of weakness for the Communists, and there is no doubt that it will last only as long as suits them. They have given no guarantees. They can revive the previous persecution at a moment's notice. What holds them back is undoubtedly their belief that a new war must come.

Two other religious bodies share with the Orthodox Church this truce, the Armenian Church and the Baptists.* The Armenian

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* The precariousness of the truce is illustrated by an attack on the Baptists in a recent article by V. G. Sokolov in *Nauka i Zhizn* (*Science and Life*). Charging that their views are "just as antiscientific and antisocial as any other

Church is important because there are substantial groups of its followers outside the Soviet borders, particularly in the United States, and the Communists hope to reach and influence them through an ostensibly free ruling body under their control. The Baptists, numbering about three millions in three thousand congregations, are regarded as the most suitable weapon to invade the unity of Orthodoxy and become the chosen church of the Communists if at any time the Orthodox become recalcitrant.

But no other religious body has shared in the relaxation of persecution. Moslems, Protestants, and Jews are persecuted with almost the same violence as Catholics, though the last named are attacked most openly because they constitute the bulk of the opposition to the Russian absorption of the satellites and are the main bulwark against Communist expansion in free Europe. Wherever the Communists are in power, they work to uproot Catholicism. An article in the Rome magazine *Civiltà Cattolica* early in 1950 reported that in 1945 seven to eight million Catholics lived in the territories of West Ukraine, White Russia, Latvia, Estonia, Lithuania, Northern Bucovina, Carpathian Russia, and Bessarabia recently incorporated into the Soviet Union. Yet the *Russian Year Book* of 1948 showed that of all their hierarchy there remained only Metropolitan Anthony Springovics, 71-year-old Archbishop of Riga, one other archbishop, two bishops, and a number of prelates and canons. The *Year Book* gave no indication of the fate of another 11 to 16 bishops in those territories, but the *Annuario Pontificio* listed all of them as impeded, deported, imprisoned, or exiled. The article also quoted a survey which on the basis of the testimony of 14,000

Christian views," he denounces as an "ingenious verbal husk" their efforts to present themselves as sympathetic to Bolshevik ideas by their emphasis on the humble and proletarian origin of Jesus Christ. To prove that they are essentially reactionary, he says, it is only necessary to point out that the Christian doctrine of forgiveness cannot be reconciled with the Communist doctrine of class war; that the principal tenet of sectarianism is that God is love, which means love for all people including the accursed enemies of the Soviet Union. In addition, all Christians believe in another world, and therefore divide and paralyze emotions which should be undividedly directed toward the Soviet Union. (Quoted by Douglas Woodruff in *The Sword,* London, April 1951.)

persons stated that there then existed in Soviet Russia 130 concentration camps and 35 zones for punishment, correction, and social education; that there were 14 million people in the internment camps, and that the life probabilities of these people under the inhuman conditions of their existence was eight years.

The Komsomol – that is, Communist Youth Organization – was warned at its eleventh congress in Moscow early in 1949 that it must not remain neutral toward religion. There was recently a revival of activity by churchmen, and it was the Komsomol's duty to react against it. The Komsomol should propagate advanced science, and represent all religion as in direct contradiction to science.

In the summer of 1949 it was reported that 3,000 special agents had been trained in Russia to go to the west disguised as ministers of religion. The Desinform had been created as a special office of international religious affairs within the Cominform, and it had established training schools in Moscow, in the Crimea, at Constanza in Rumania, and at Sigulda in Latvia. This information was elaborated in London in January 1951 by Bishop Ivan Bucko, the only Ukrainian bishop to escape from the Russians. He stated that the Orthodox Metropolitan had in one year ordained as priests about 40,000 agents of the secret police to disrupt religion within Russia and in the satellites.

Even before the war, Catholic priests known to be at liberty in Russia were two (one French, one American) in Moscow, one each in Leningrad, Odessa, Zhitomir, and one other town in the Ukraine, and perhaps one at Rostov. The American priest was given a reentry visa in 1949 to allow him to visit his family. After he had left, the reentry permit was canceled. In September 1950 the French priest was expelled. He said in Paris that extreme pressure was brought to bear to prevent any Russians from going to him for religious rites, and that during his time in Moscow, two cooks, a sacristan, a chauffeur, and several other members of his staff had mysteriously disappeared.

Pressure from the United States forced the Soviets to grant a visa for another American priest to minister to the religious needs of United States citizens. But since his arrival he has been excluded from the Church of St. Louis, where the Minister of Religion (former head of the League of Godless) has installed a Latvian priest believed not to have ecclesiastical credentials. The American priest is not permitted to say Mass in public or otherwise publicly to exercise his ministry. The Catholic priest in Leningrad was expelled in 1949. The priest in Odessa has been in jail since 1942.

The Jews were victims of discrimination from the Revolution, and their treatment has deteriorated progressively since the early twenties. Contrary to popular belief, the Communist Party was never friendly to the Jews. Karl Marx himself, though of Jewish stock (his father became a Protestant for political advancement), was a violent antisemite. So was Friedrich Engels. As for Trotsky, he once told a delegation of rabbis who implored him as a fellow Jew to ease the oppression: "Go home to your Jews and tell them that I am not a Jew, that I care nothing for the Jews and their fate." Stalin, who is not Jewish, revealed antisemitic views at least as early as 1907, when he described the Mensheviks as a Jewish faction and the Bolsheviks as genuine Russians and indicated agreement with a "jest" of one of the Bolsheviks that it would be a good idea to conduct a pogrom within the Party. In 1913 he described the Jews as "mystical, incomprehensible, and unrealistic," and advocated their assimilation. This has become the official Party program. Unlike the Nazis, they do not seek the extermination of the Jews but their destruction as a people. There is a place for them, as for other religious and cultural groups, if they abandon their beliefs, their culture, and other characteristics.

Lenin alone of the Communist leaders was not antisemitic. Consequently, in the first years of the Revolution there was no direct persecution. Nevertheless, the Jews suffered grievously under the program of liquidating the bourgeoisie. Deprived of means of livelihood, they flocked to the factories, where they got a bad time from the traditionally antisemitic Russian workers, who feared the Jews would steal their jobs.

Things got worse during the struggle between Trotsky and Stalin for Lenin's position. The proportion of Jews in the highest ranks of the Party was small, but it included several pro-Trotskyites, and

Stalin's backers played on the anti-Jewish theme. In this contest and the following purges practically every Bolshevik leader of Jewish origin was liquidated, including those who had backed Stalin. Not even Commissar for Jewish Affairs Dimanstein, who as Stalin's Jewish aide stamped out numerous Jewish religious and cultural organizations, escaped. By 1930 the Jewish section of the Communist Party was officially banned.

The Jews as such have since exercised no influence on the Communist Party. Because of their substantial numbers in Russia and Central Europe (eight to nine millions in 1939), it is statistically inevitable that some of Jewish origin should be high in the Party hierarchy, like Rakosy in Hungary and Rudolf Slansky in Czechoslovakia. But, as the Jesuit weekly *America* has pointed out, it would be as logical to blame the Orthodox Church for ex-seminarian Stalin or the Catholic Church for baptized member Hitler. Actually, after a period of tactical relaxation during the recent war, anti-Jewish measures in Russia were intensified in 1945. And even during the war the Communists were guilty of great treachery in that they made no effort to evacuate Jews from territories threatened by the Nazis, thus making themselves a party to the elimination of 1,500,000 of the 2,100,000 Jews in occupied Soviet territory. They did not even think it worth while to protest Nazi treatment of Soviet Jewish citizens, though they exposed in a series of white papers Nazi atrocities committed on non-Jewish Russians.

Nevertheless, things were not too bad on the whole for the Jews until 1948. But on September 21 of that year Ilya Ehrenburg, leading Communist political writer, laid down in the Moscow *Pravda* a new policy, the implementation of which both in Soviet Russia and in the satellites has since led to the liquidation of all forms of Jewish spiritual and cultural life. According to the *American Jewish Year Book*, Ehrenburg declared that no bonds existed between the Jews of different countries other than those imposed by antisemitism and persecution, that when antisemitism and persecution ended, the Jews would "simply enter the common life of other nations." The world triumph of the Soviets would remove the roots of antisemitism. Israel, according to Ehrenburg, was only a transitory refuge for Jews from "reactionary" countries. Zionists were bourgeois nationalists and untrustworthy, so that even in Israel it was the duty of the workers to fight the reactionary Jewish capitalist rulers. This policy declaration sparked a campaign against "homeless cosmopolitanism" and a purge from all public activities, of which the Jews were the principal victims.

Today within Russia the final step in assimilation has been taken. The Jewish press and theater have been shut down. Even Jews writing in Russian cannot get their work published. Many leaders have been liquidated. Jewish schools have been closed. Jews are banned from training schools for army and diplomatic service and from language schools, and are being eliminated from posts of influence. The autonomous Jewish state of Birobidjan has been stripped of its Jewish leadership, and a 1951 report says it has been transformed into an administrative region of the province of Khabarovsk. Cartoonists picture the Jews as hook-nosed peddlers, corpulent and ostentatiously dressed. Though pseudonyms are frequent (Stalin's name is Djugashvili; Molotov's, Scriabin), prominent Jews who use pseudonyms are identified in the press by their Jewish-sounding names in parentheses. This policy keeps alive the traditional antisemitism of the Russians, which still expresses itself in frequent mob violence and excludes Jews from good jobs and living quarters.

In a letter to the United Nations in July 1949, the executive director of the American Jewish League against Communism charged that Russia was at that time uprooting thousands of Russian Jews from the Ukraine and White Russia and deporting them to clear those border areas for a new war. He estimated that deportees had reached 400,000. The secret police swooped down on one district after another and carried off the Jewish inhabitants to Archangel or Siberia. Simultaneously, an intensified persecution of Jewish intellectuals had broken out.

In March 1950 a report to the U.S. Jewish Labor Committee confirmed that Jewish life behind the Iron Curtain was being steadily liquidated. Two and a half million Jews in Russia, Poland, Rumania, Hungary, and Czechoslovakia were victims of a ruthless campaign to eradicate their culture, language, literature, religion, and national consciousness. Their writers had disappeared, their organizations had been dissolved, the American Jewish relief organizations had been expelled, and emigration to Israel had been all but completely choked off. A subsequent report to the 1951 Conference revealed that the persecution was continuing. "Today not a sign of Jewish life remains in the Soviet Union. The liquidation of all forms of Jewish spiritual and cultural life has been complete."

Following these reports, David Dubinsky, president of the International Garment Workers Union (American Federation of Labor), formally asked the United Nations on behalf of the Committee to investigate the charge that the social and cultural life of Jews in the Soviet Union and its satellites was being obliterated. A 17-page memorial documented the claim that two to three million Jews (all that remain of the more than five million in the U.S.S.R. in 1941) are being barbarously destroyed as a people within Soviet Russia, that the Jews in the satellites are being similarly treated, and that this constitutes social and cultural genocide.

"In Soviet Russia today there are only a few shreds of Jewish cultural and spiritual life remaining," says the memorial. "In the other countries under its domination, the process is rapidly approaching a similar stage. All Jewish institutions – schools, literature, press, theatre, publishing houses, community and charity organizations, synagogues and religious observances, the Yiddish and Hebrew languages – the whole pattern of a once vibrant and creative culture – are rapidly approaching final obliteration.

"We charge that the Soviet campaigns to blot out Jewish cultural life and Jewish identity are brutal and uncivilized breaches of the United Nations charter, of the Covenant of Human Rights, and of the Genocide Convention."

Itzik Feffer, leading Jewish writer, friend and eulogizer of Stalin, has vanished without trace, as have Bergelson, Nistor, Peretz Markish, and many others.

The Moslems, second largest religious group in the Soviet Union, similarly feel the weight of persecution. During 1950 an unusually large volume of press propaganda was directed against the Mohammedan religion and against expressions of Pan-Moslem sentiments. In February 1951 Moscow authorities barred a delegation of Soviet Moslems from attending the World Moslem Congress in Karachi, Pakistan. Mir Dzhafar Bagirov, first secretary of the Communist Party in the Azerbaijan Republic, told a congress of Azerbaijani intellectuals that Mohammed was "a representative of the feudal-mercantile aristocracy who utilized Islam for the unification of the Arab tribes and for the maintenance of their own power."

The history of the Moslems in Russia has been rewritten in recent years to show that the Czarist absorption of Moslem peoples in the Caucasus and Central Asia was a progressive step, that popular Moslem leaders who resisted the Czars were the tools of foreign powers, and that the Soviet Moslem peoples built their own high cultures without help from Moslem peoples outside Russia. An antireligious propaganda museum stressing the fight against Mohammedanism was opened in Tashkent, capital of Uzbekistan, in the fall of 1949. Published reports say it is well equipped with books, posters, caricatures, and other materials designed to show the reactionary nature of religion. An article in *Sovetskoye Gosudarstvo i Pravo* in 1950 stated that the Sharyat, traditional Moslem code of laws dealing with marriage, divorce, inheritance, and criminality, had been "liquidated." This action was a violation of a pledge given by Stalin himself. In an address at Daghestanians in 1920, Stalin asserted that the Soviet government considered the Sharyat, the supreme law which governed the life of the Moslem faithful, as endowed with "the same kind of authoritative customary law as that of other peoples inhabiting Russia."

Veli Kajum Khan, President of the Turkestan Unity Committee, an organization in Karachi formed by Moslem refugees from the Soviet Union, recently stated that nearly three million Moslem refugees from Soviet rule had found asylum in Pakistan, Iran, and other Arab nations. Denying Soviet claims of cultural and religious freedom and high economic development in Soviet Turkestan, he said that five million Moslems had been deported to Siberia and most of them killed, that mosques had been converted into Communist clubs, citizens persecuted for wanting to retain the Arabic script, and copies of the Koran collected and burned.

Further confirmation of the universality of the Communist opposition to all religions was given by Sheikh Adelail El Kitani, Moslem spiritual leader in Morocco, who declared in March 1951 that union between Christianity and Islam was becoming urgently necessary in the face of destructive Communism. He was commenting on a statement in favor of Islamo-Christian collaboration made by Abdul Rahman Azzam Pasha, secretary-general of the Arab League. "The Communists have one final aim," added the Sheikh, "and that is to strike out against all men who believe in God, whatever their actual religion may be."

The Russian people have never had an opportunity to express freely their views about Communism. Lenin came into power by force. Neither he nor his successors ever allowed a free expression of the people's will or the development of any institutions that might even indirectly express that will. Time and again individuals and groups have attempted to express opposition, but in every case they have been wiped out by means of purges, secret police, and an unceasing reign of terror.

At different times, following the policy laid down in the already-quoted Communist Party Program, the persecution has been intensified or eased, but the essential plan and policy have never changed. During the recent war, in part as a propaganda effort to win sympathy in the western democracies, in part to win the unconditional support of their own people for the war effort and to counter the German proclamation of freedom of worship in the Ukraine, a measure of religious freedom was allowed. But this was a mere tactical evasion, as subsequent events have more than demonstrated. And even this easing was more illusory than real. The Communists by then had realized that religion was more deeply ingrained in the people than they had earlier believed.* Instead of a frontal assault, they had decided that they would get further by supporting a puppet church, and they had sufficiently infiltrated the Orthodox Church to be able to use it. The Orthodox Church leaders had not abdicated easily. According to figures quoted by Cardinal Tisserant, Prefect of the Oriental Church, in September 1950, 20 Orthodox bishops and 22,000 Orthodox priests had been murdered in the long battle. But from the Communist viewpoint it had been worth the cost, for it gave them control of a church organization through which they could reach the Russian masses, as well as great numbers of Orthodox and other religious groups forcibly annexed to Orthodoxy in the satellites. Something of that story is told in subsequent chapters.

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* "Religion, whether Moslem as in Turkestan, or Jewish or Christian, is a

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deep and abiding force throughout the Soviet Union as in other lands, and the Communist suppression of it only provokes increased resistance. As this resistance rises, a new and desperate attempt is being made by the Communist leadership to undermine the age-old religious beliefs and faiths of the captive peoples. They realize that these subject populations persistently believe, in accordance with their respective faiths, that there is a God and will not accept the Communist line that there is no God." (Harold E. Stassen, president of the University of Pennsylvania, in *The Ladies' Home Journal,* April 1951.)

2. *CZECHOSLOVAKIA*

CZECHOSLOVAKIA, constituted from Bohemia, Moravia, Slovakia, and Carpatho-Ruthenia after the first world war, emerged as an independent republic dedicated to the principle of civil and religious freedom. It represented the political union of peoples who had made contributions no less significant than those of their neighbors to European civilization and religious life. Though the Czechs had lost their independence in the Hapsburg monarchy, they exerted an important cultural influence on it, avoiding absorption in the dominant German group as assiduously as did the Hungarians and other national groups. The Slovaks are noteworthy in particular for a deep religious sense which historically has been closely associated with patriotic sentiment. Their history stretches back to the Moravian Empire.

Czechoslovakia's two traditions, while clashing at many points, agreed on the principle of religious and civil freedom as the basis for union. One was the age-old Christian tradition of Czechs and Slovaks, going back to Saint Wenceslaus and Saints Cyril and Methodius, whom they regard as their greatest protectors, a tradition which expresses itself also in the veneration for Saint John Nepomucene shared with all the peoples of the Danube Valley, and which expresses itself in the tens of thousands of crossroad shrines that bespeak an identity of culture and of perspective transcending languages and shifting political divisions.

The Czechs, the Slovaks, the Germans, the Hungarians, the Ruthenians, the Jews, and the Poles all made a distinct contribution to the cultural and religious life of the republic. They had learned that the better part of religion was tolerance of the honestly held views of others, that only on the basis of freedom for all could there be freedom for each.

Starting from entirely different principles and experiences, the small but influential agnostic or Masonic intelligentsia affirmed also the value of freedom for all in the brave new world of brotherhood and progress toward which they fondly believed they were moving. And so in the years between the wars there were political clashes, unpleasant trials, and controversy with the Holy See over a concordat or *modus vivendi;* but in the meantime freedom flourished in all essentials. The constitution guaranteed religious freedom and equality of all denominations before the law. Private and confessional schools were allowed, the state claiming the right to supervise all education.

The Jews of Prague, one of the oldest and most respected Jewish communities of Europe, exerted an immense influence not only on the cultural life of the republic but upon Jewish life throughout the world. There was a movement toward a national church, encouraged by the anticlericals who under Masaryk dominated political life, but it never succeeded in creating violent religious dissension. Relations with the Catholic Church were governed by a concordat drafted in 1928 but put into effect as a *modus vivendi* only in 1935. A state contribution to the Church continued under the republic as in Hapsburg times, Joseph II having introduced the so-called Imperial Contribution when he confiscated the Church's property. In 1938 the Catholic Church owned about 788,000 acres of land.

The Catholic Church played a leading part in education, with schools of all grades conducted by the religious orders of men and women, diocesan priests, and lay people spread throughout the entire country. The Lutherans and Moravian brothers also had their schools.

Catholic Action was officially organized on a nationwide basis. Flourishing Catholic societies – religious, religious-cultural, and religious-fraternal – conducted such activities as hospitals, orphanages, halls, libraries, and theaters. The Catholics published six daily papers, 45 weeklies, and 270 ecclesiastical or religious magazines in Czech and Slovak; two dailies, 11 political weeklies, and 12 religious magazines in German; one daily and seven weeklies and magazines in Ruthenian; two general weeklies and seven religious magazines in Hungarian. The religious magazines had a particularly wide circulation. The Czech *Nedele* weekly ran to 240,000; the Slovak *Srdca,* 23,000; the German *Hausblatter,* 65,000; magazines like *Filozoficka Revu* and *Na Hlubinu* were known all over the world.

In Bohemia and Moravia the Catholics suffered severe persecution under the Nazis, including confiscation of property, closing of schools, and suppression of newspapers. Some priests were shot. Others (including the later Archbishop of Prague, Monsignor Beran) were interned.

In Slovakia, where the previously existing national movement headed by Monsignor Tiso and supported by the clergy established an independent government with Nazi approval, the Catholics and Protestants were not persecuted, but the Jews suffered grievously. The Slovak bishops did their utmost to avoid identifying the Catholic Church with the regime headed by Monsignor Tiso.

Great changes took place in the composition of the population of Czechoslovakia in 1945. It lost Carpatho-Ruthenia and the bulk of its Orthodox population to Russia. But a flood of repatriates soon started to flow from Carpatho-Ruthenia, including about 100,000 Catholics of the Oriental Rite, most of whom settled in the western frontier districts. About three million persons of German ethnic origin were expelled, practically eliminating the German Lutheran Church. Many of these expellees also were Catholics. Some repatriated Czechs and Slovaks replaced them and also replaced the expelled Hungarians. As a result of the forcible exchange of population, a new Lutheran diocese was created for Slovaks repatriated from Hungary at Komarno in southern Slovakia, in territory that for centuries was almost completely Catholic. By the end of 1945 the number of Jews had been reduced by the Nazi persecution from the 1939 figure of 315,000 to 60,000. Subsequent emigration has reduced still further the number of Jews. In May 1948 the German Lutheran Church was dissolved by state decree and its property and wealth were distributed among other churches.

The immediate postwar situation in Slovakia differed from that in Bohemia and Moravia. Many priests were charged as collaborators, and all Catholic schools in Slovakia were laicized. Tiso was executed after a Communist trial which did not establish guilt according to the legal norms accepted in the democratic world. The Communists were eager to blame Tiso, while condoning the open crimes of Nazis willing to cooperate with them.

In the May 1946 elections the Communists got under 30 percent of the votes in Slovakia, while the Democrats (Catholic Party) got 61 percent. But the coalition of Communists (40 percent) and Social Democrats (14 percent) in the entire Republic ensured the majority needed to confirm the Communist stranglehold on Slovakia.

Czechoslovakia provides the classic example of the folly of those who thought cooperation with the Communists and with Soviet Russia was possible on a basis of mutual good faith and respect for the principles of the other party. The Communists had some representatives in every parliament from the time the state came into existence. But if few in numbers, they were clear about their goal. Gottwald, who later became Communist President of the satellite Czechoslovak state, told the Czechoslovak Parliament in 1929: "You ask what we want. Gentlemen, we want to break your necks." Many of those who then laughed at the fiery young deputy's joke have had their necks broken not only figuratively but literally.

During the second world war some Czech politicians continued the policy of confidence in Moscow. Letters from Benes to Stalin assuring him of his belief that Russia would never interfere in the domestic affairs of Czechoslovakia read almost like love letters. To the last, Czech politicians tried to work in coalition with the Communists, and even the Catholic hierarchy avoided any action which could be construed as obstructionist. But from the moment of the republic's rebirth in 1945 the Communists never deviated from their plan of total domination.

The Slovak National Council (Communist dominated) by decree of May 22, 1945, dissolved every Catholic association in Slovakia, among them the most important of Slovak Catholic institutions, the Slovak Catholic Youth Association. The decree nationalizing Slovak schools was signed on May 16, 1945, and another decree of that year (47/1945) confiscated all movable and immovable property of the Church which was used for educational purposes. This included the school buildings. In July 1945 Dr. Karol Kmetko, Bishop of Nitra, forwarded a petition signed by several hundred thousand people asking for the reopening of the Catholic schools. The reply of the authorities was to arrest the organizers of the petition.

In Bohemia and Moravia, on the other hand, in the immediate postwar period the outlook for the Catholic Church and for religion in general looked brighter. On April 4, 1945, the so-called Parties of Liberation issued the Program of Kosice, signed both by Benes and by Communist leader Gottwald. This Program laid down the principles that would govern postwar Czechoslovakia. Its fifth article guaranteed freedom of religion and of conscience for all citizens. Premier Fierlinger and Communist Education Minister Nejedly stated repeatedly during 1945 that there would be no Kulturkampf in Czechoslovakia. And after Gottwald had become Premier, he attended the installation of Archbishop Beran. Government representatives similarly attended the consecration of the bishops of Brno, Olomouc, Budejovice, and Litomerice. The *modus vivendi* with the Holy See remained in force.

A general antireligious movement, however, soon began to reveal itself. Administratively, obstacles were placed in the way of opening religious schools closed by the Nazis, and religious instruction was restricted. At the time the Catholic schools were confiscated in Slovakia in 1945, Dr. Andrei Pavlik, Slovak Education Minister, published a book on education in Soviet Russia in which he declared that the Soviet educational system must provide the pattern for education in the new Czechoslovakia. He praised the antireligious attitude of Soviet education as an organic element in the system, stating that up to 1929 there had been a period of toleration but that since that date all education was being carried on in the spirit of fighting atheism.

But the Communists within Bohemia were more cautious in expressing their views. It is true that Education Minister Nejedly already in 1945 presented a law to nationalize the schools, but this never received the approval of Parliament, thanks to the resistance of the Minister of Schools, Stransky, who was a member of the Benes party. In 1946 Communist Information Minister Kopecky said there was absolutely no intention of separating church and state but that nevertheless the state must control the field of education. Certain tendencies began to emerge during 1946. In addition to the picture of Benes, President of the Republic, the picture of Stalin had to be displayed in all schools. The bishops then issued a protest at the failure to teach religion in the schools. And in the grammar schools and high schools, under the name of civics, indoctrination in Soviet ideology was introduced. A memorandum from Archbishop Beran to the government in March 1947 protested against this teaching of Communism in the schools.

Pressure to laicize the schools continued, and in February 1948 Archbishop Beran called on President Benes and asked him to have the government desist from its encroachments. The following month, the action committee of the Communist-sponsored and dominated National Front condemned every "one-sided and arbitrary influence which wants to achieve domination in the church schools" and protested against any action "which would trouble the freedom of education."

That was after the *coup d'état* of February 1948 which effected complete Communist control of all state organisms throughout the republic. The regime still continued to profess regard for religion but increased the speed of its efforts to eliminate every institution that might impede its plans to establish a Soviet-type dictatorship. In April a law was passed to unify education under state control, religious instruction being eliminated except in the lower grades. In the fall of 1948 a revised school program provided that the only foreign language in the curriculum would be Russian.

In addition to moves to eliminate religion from education, the Communists gave other indications before the *coup d'état* of what their policy would be when they had removed all opposition. Even as early as 1946 many people were arrested for voicing their condemnation of Communist doctrines. In that year, too, the government refused to approve the appointment of the Bishop of Hradec Kralove, who was *persona non grata* because of his strenuous fight on behalf of the church schools. This refusal, however, was permissible under the concordat, which provided that the government had to be asked before a bishop was named.

From the time of the Communist putsch of February 1948 as a preliminary to holding "Communist-type" elections, even the most ingenuous of the collaborators realized that with the Communists there was no basis for compromise. President Benes admitted this by his resigning in May to make way for Gottwald. Earlier, Jan Masaryk made the same admission still more dramatically. Jan Masaryk was one of modern Czechoslovakia's most revered leaders. Like many of the intelligentsia, he came from a family of relatively little religious background. So did his father, the great President Thomas Masaryk, and from his American mother he derived no great religious fervor. Jan was a good and jovial fellow, but he had to pay with his life for the mistake he made in common with many of his group in assuming that Communism would tolerate them and allow them to follow their own path so long as they remained neutral in its struggle to destroy religion. Religion seemed unimportant to them because they had been brought up in the agnostic or indifferentist tradition characteristic of Central European Freemasonry, as reflected and propagated by such writers as the vitriolic but genial Jaroslav Hasek and the world-famed Karel Capek.* But the Communists knew that these men had an intellectual honesty which could not go along with oppressing the masses of believers, and Masaryk as their leader had to be eliminated. Whether his tragic end was by his own act or that of the Communists, it proved the point with equal force for those who thought like him in Czechoslovakia and around the world.

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* The Czechs had also many great writers in the religious tradition. Czech Dominicans were in high repute for their learning throughout the Danube Basin. Priests like Method Hapan, Braito, and Dacik; lay writers like Jaroslav Durych, and statesmen like Monsignor Sramek exerted immense influence. But political life was dominated by the liberal intelligentsia, as in many neighboring countries with the exception of Slovakia, where the Catholic and Protestant clergy were political leaders from the time the country became independent.

Dr. Vladimir Clementis, another of the pseudoliberals, who succeeded Masaryk as Foreign Minister, was in turn dismissed in March 1950 for "bourgeois nationalist deviationism." Even his membership in the Communist Party did not save him. He appeared at the Party convention in May 1950 and publicly repudiated his errors, but the Praesidium of the Party did not accept his apology. In February 1951 it was reported from Prague that he and his wife had disappeared, that his friend President Gottwald was under police supervision.

In the fall of 1946 began the first direct attacks on the Vatican. The Congress of the Communist Party denounced the Vatican as the center of capitalistic conspiracies. These attacks continued during 1947 and became extremely violent in 1948 after the *coup d'état.* When the new regime announced Communist-type elections (i.e., with a single list of Communist candidates) for May 1948, it used all its influence to get in advance the official blessing of all religious denominations for this list. The Protestant and Greek Orthodox authorities consented because their leaders were infiltrated by the Communists, but in spite of threats to break diplomatic relations with the Vatican, to publish defamatory statements against the clergy, and to promote schismatic movements, the Catholic hierarchy refused to be drawn into politics. Nevertheless, the government through its controlled press issued statements to make people believe that the Catholic Church was supporting the Communist single list, and tried to prevent circulation of Monsignor Beran's denial. Monsignor Beran warned priests of the automatic excommunication they would incur under Canon Law if they stood for election without permission of their superiors. The Communists denounced this warning violently as an interference with personal liberty and argued publicly that the priest had a right and duty to interfere in politics.

Only three priests ignored this warning. One of them was Joseph Plojhar, who was named Health Minister. He was suspended by his ecclesiastical superiors and immediately took the lead in the campaign against the Vatican. By this time the faithful Catholics had been purged from the Czech People's Party, the Catholic Party of Bohemia and Moravia, and replaced by fellow travelers so that it had become a "front" organization for the Communists. This pseudo-Catholic party protested against the suspension of Plojhar, and the army newspaper *Obrana Lidu* joined in the attacks on the Vatican. The Association of Bohemian Peasant Youth sent a protest through the government to the Vatican against the suspension of Plojhar, declaring among other calumnies that "the Catholic Church participated during the German occupation in the murder of Czechs." The Czech Youth Association, Svaz Ceskej Mladeze, also made a violent attack on the Vatican in the fall of 1948 and simultaneously denounced the Boy Scouts and the Czech Catholic Youth Federation.

During the summer of 1948 the action committee of the Communist-dominated National Front issued the following confidential order to its members and supporters concerning the fight against the Church:

1. To use all available means to undermine the dignity of the Vatican and the people's confidence in it. This should be done particularly by attacks in newspapers and by articles which would tend to compromise the clergy.

2. To create differences between the bishops and the clergy, and between the clergy and the people.

3. To enter into no relations with or conduct no negotiations with the hierarchy, this to be the exclusive right and duty of the General Secretariat of the Action Committee of the National Front. (This office was headed by Minister Cepicka. The order explained that if individual Communist action committees negotiated with Church authorities, undesirable or unpermissible alleviations and agreements might result.)

4. Ecclesiastical committees and action committees had been created not to collaborate with the Catholic Church but to provide the means for taking decisions without consulting the Church or decisions which the Church opposed.

5. Close cooperation should be maintained with the so-called

Czechoslovak Church. (This body had been created in 1920 as a national church not in communion with Rome.) If bishops of the Czechoslovak Church participated in the celebration of state holidays, this should be accepted and publicly proclaimed as a great honor.

6. They should stress and urge unity of the people against denominational barriers. In this connection the advantage of membership in the Czechoslovak Church as a national church should be emphasized. Later on, there should follow collaboration with the Russian Church, and Prague should become a Russian Church metropolis.

7. The following arguments should be used to discredit the Catholic Church: unreasonableness of celibacy, economic power and wealth of Church, connection between Catholic Church and capitalism, immorality of priests, homosexual trials.

The Central Committee of the Czechoslovak Communist Party set out as follows the aims of the fight against the Church:

1. Archbishops and bishops should be prevented from communicating with the Vatican otherwise than through the government.

2. Pastoral letters must always have previous government authorization.

3. Sermons of priests and all addresses to church associations should be censored and kept under rigid control.

4. The Czechoslovak Church and the Church of the Evangelical Brethren should be made state churches. The Catholic Church's property should be seized and distributed among the national churches.

5. The Catholic clergy should be forced to join the national church.

6. The Catholic clergy should be morally compromised, if necessary by means of woman agents.

After Gottwald's election as President, the government (as already mentioned) was still anxious to make it appear that the Catholic Church had given its approval to the Communist regime. It offered to exclude most of the Catholic schools from the recently decreed nationalization, if a solemn *Te Deum* was sung in Prague Cathedral on the occasion of Gottwald's inauguration. The hierarchy, anxious to be conciliatory, agreed, and Gottwald attended the ceremonies in the Cathedral. Within a year all Catholic schools — including kindergartens, which had not been included in the terms of the nationalization law — had been nationalized. Communists were placed in control and the curricula were revised in accordance with Marxist-Leninist educational theory and practice. Religious instruction was retained, but on a very restricted basis, and the clergy were forbidden to have any contacts with youth outside such classes in religion as were still permitted. In his pastoral letter of April 1949 Archbishop Beran recorded that all the Catholic schools in Moravia and Slovakia had already been closed and that the liquidation of those in Bohemia was being continued according to a clear schedule. He stated that the theological seminaries were also being liquidated.

Defending this action, Justice Minister Cepicka, son-in-law of President Gottwald, declared at the ninth National Congress of the Czechoslovak Communist Party in May 1949: "It is quite natural that we claim for the state the right that only the state should educate all the children, that the state should direct every school without exception, and that every kind of education inside and outside the schools should be conducted in accordance with the scientific truths that constitute the spirit of Marxism-Leninism. We deny and reject with the utmost determination the claims of the Vatican to interfere in this purely internal matter."

A pastoral letter of the Czechoslovak bishops of June 5, 1949, protested against the government prohibition, under pain of heavy penalties, of participation in the "Eucharistic Circles." This prohibition, said the pastoral, made every educational work imbued with Christian principles impossible and illegal. It stated that the seminaries had to accept so-called lecturers on political science, and that all contacts between the clergy and the people outside the church buildings had been rendered impossible. This pastoral also noted that the theological seminaries of Levoca, Roznava, and Trnava had been sequestrated.

During the summer vacation of 1949 the teachers were forced to attend political courses to prepare them for the new Communist-line curricula scheduled for the coming school year. Basic socialistic texts were introduced in the primary schools, and it was declared that pupils who failed to show "positive attitudes" would not be admitted to high schools. The high-school curriculum was revised to start with a grounding in dialectical materialism. It was also laid down that students would have to devote stated hours to extracurricular activities in the compulsory youth organization. Teachers who refused to go along were ousted from the schools, and to prevent them from earning a living, a new regulation made it illegal for private lessons to be given except by state-licensed teachers. The Communist *Rude Pravo* pointed up the new education by declaring that not only would parents not be allowed to exercise an influence on school programs as in the past but they must learn to bring up their children along the lines laid down in the schools.

Although the law provided that religion should continue to be taught in the schools, a series of instructions by the education ministry to the lay teachers of religion so perverted the curriculum that the church authorities had to advise parents to withdraw their children from the classes in religion in schools where the instruction did not accord with their religious beliefs. Starting with the kindergartens, the Communists set out to pervert the minds of the children. Applying the new teaching material, one teacher in an orphanage had the children recite the Our Father. When they had finished, the teacher said: "You have just asked God to give you your daily bread. Let us see what happens." After a pause of a few moments, the teacher continued: "You can see for yourself God does not exist, because there is no response to your request. Now let us pray to our father Stalin and see if he won't hear our prayer." Immediately after an invocation to Stalin, the doors opened and two people appeared with baskets of candies and gifts. "You see, my dear children, we owe everything to the leader of the workers, the great Stalin."

Even the theological seminaries were affected by the new regulations. The bishops made every effort to avoid a direct clash and even took the extreme step of authorizing under protest the attendance of Catholic theology students at the compulsory "social science" lectures, while instructing the rectors that the students should leave the classes if the instructors attempted to undermine their religious convictions. This in fact happened. An excommunicated priest was appointed official lecturer in a Prague seminary, and in his very first lecture he set out to defend the thesis that a good Catholic could be a good Communist. He was shouted down by the students.

Early in 1950 control was extended to the 600-year-old Charles University. All its property was expropriated and it was placed under direct state control. The expropriating law provided that the government would nominate all its officers and professors, and that students in future would be admitted only in accordance with the "planned economic, social, and cultural needs of the state."

A major part of the campaign to control education was devoted to eliminating the religious orders. On the night of April 13, 1950, many monasteries, especially in Slovakia, were raided and the monks were taken to concentration monasteries. After the monks had left, the Communists took photographs of nude street women in the monasteries which they later distributed as proof that the monks led immoral lives. In the crowded concentration monasteries the monks were subjected to intolerable living conditions. A report of July 1950 tells of 300 monks living in filth in one building. Another report of the same month states there were 130 monks belonging to different orders interned in the monastery of St. Benedict in Slovakia. At the Premonstratensian monastery at Zeliv, Bohemia, the interned monks were forced to work in the fields sixteen hours a day under brutal guards, at the end of which time they had to tend the cattle in the stalls before being allowed to rest.

Similar treatment was received by the nuns. In various centers they were summoned to the offices of the Ministry for Church Affairs and forbidden to teach in the convent schools on the grounds that they were inciting the people against the government's "Catholic Action," they had refused to sign the Stockholm peace manifesto, and they had failed to attend the indoctrination courses in

Marxism-Leninism. They were told they would not be allowed to return to their families but would be given work by the government, and accordingly they too were concentrated into a small number of internment convents.

By the start of the 1950–1951 school year hundreds of priests and members of the religious orders were in jail, while all or nearly all the remaining monks and nuns were concentrated into a few monasteries which were simply slave-labor camps. In these camps indoctrination courses were being held regularly by the Communists, and those who gave uncooperative answers were punished and beaten. Over a hundred priests were reported in hospital as a result of ill treatment. In Slovakia alone the number of priests in jails and concentration monasteries was estimated at over 1,000, while in the whole country the bishops were not only under house arrest but were isolated from their secretaries and other confidential personnel so that they could not perform their duties. In the diocese of Nitra, 19 priests were known to be in jail; in Trnava, 22. In addition, Bishop Ambrose Lazik, Apostolic Administrator of Trnava, and his secretary were reported to be in jail. In the diocese of Banska Bystrica, 16 priests were known to be in jail; in Spis, 23, including 72-year-old Bishop Jan Vojtassak; in Kosice, nine. Many Franciscans from the concentration monastery of Bohosudov were reported sent to the coal mines for refusing to accept indoctrination in Communism. A lurid book purporting to describe what wickedness had been hidden behind the monastery walls was being featured in all government bookstores. It contained descriptions and pictures of ammunition dumps and mimeograph machines, as well as pictures of nude women posed in the monks' cells.

Refugees reaching Austria in 1950 and 1951 said that many monks had been shipped to slave-labor camps in Soviet Russia.

Meanwhile in the schools the antireligious campaign gained momentum. Many teachers were graduated from the Communist Party training colleges in summer 1950; they replaced intractable teachers throughout the country, and were charged with the special work of dechristianizing youth.

Another element in the Communist attack on the Church was its seizure of property. The confiscation of church property dedicated to educational purposes in Slovakia has already been mentioned. In the second half of 1947 the Communist Party raised the question of other property of the Catholic Church in the republic. Archbishop Beran in his Christmas 1947 pastoral letter pointed out the contradictions in the Communist arguments on this subject and warned of the danger of a new Kulturkampf. The Parliament, nevertheless, by combined vote of Communists, Social Democrats, and Czech National Socialists (Benes Party), approved the Communist project in February 1948, just before the *coup d'état.* The new law provided that all landholdings of the Church comprising more than 110 acres should be nationalized. In a pastoral letter of February 10 the Czechoslovak Catholic bishops protested the law, declaring that this property was needed to maintain church institutions, charitable works, and similar objects, and that its confiscation was consequently an injustice. The bishops also contended that the law violated the concordat and *modus vivendi,* which were still in force and which provided that no property of the Church might be sequestrated unilaterally. The law was nevertheless put into effect. Twenty-five thousand acres were seized in Bohemia, Moravia, and Silesia, and 40,000 acres in Slovakia, without any compensation. A hundred thousand acres of forest were likewise seized without compensation. At the same time, and also without compensation, 16,000 acres were taken from the famous Abbey of Prahova, 84,000 acres from the Archdiocese of Olomouc, 7,200 acres from the Diocese of Nitra, 17,000 acres from the Hungarian Diocese of Esztergom, and 10,000 acres from the Chapter of Esztergom Diocese. This diocese, seat of the Prince Primate of Hungary, owned land in Slovakia which had been incorporated in Hungary from the ninth century up to 1919.

At first the Communists maintained the traditional arrangements under which subsidies were granted the religious denominations in proportion to their numbers. Budget figures place the total subsidy for all denominations between 1945 and 1948 at 540,000,000 crowns ($10,800,000 at official exchange rates) for all denominations, more than half of it going to the Catholic Church. Following the church nationalization law of October 14, 1949, the Communists made payment of salaries contingent on acceptance of their conditions, and soon most of the clergy ceased to be eligible for state salaries.

Immediately after the end of the war the religious press, which (as set out above) was extremely flourishing up to 1938, began to revive with amazing rapidity. In February 1948 there were 18 Catholic publishing houses in Bohemia and Moravia, more than there had been before the war. Following the Communist putsch of February 1948 the Minister of Information immediately prohibited the publication of six Catholic weeklies, as well as *Katolik,* the central organ of Catholic Action. Soon the very popular *Nedele* and *Rosevac* weeklies were included in the ban. All publications were subjected to a stringent censorship. In the summer of 1948 the government ordered the seizure in Olomouc of Pope Pius XI's encyclical concerning the education of youth. In November 1948 the Information Minister by decree (1418/1948) nationalized all Catholic printing presses in Slovakia, including the Spolok Svateho Vojtecha press, one of the largest in all that area. Even before the confiscation, they had been directed by a suspended Catholic priest appointed by the government. *Misionar,* monthly organ of the Eastern Rite Catholics, was suspended by the Information Ministry on the ground of shortage of newsprint. At the same time, the whole of the Catholic press of Slovakia, with the sole exception of *Katolicke Novini,* was liquidated. The *Katolicke Novini* in 1948 had 180,000 subscribers. Because of the government limitation of newsprint, the paper was sent to half the subscribers one week and to the other half the following week. But this did not satisfy the Communist regime, and it appointed a Communist as editor-in-chief and manager. The *Katolicke Novini* thus ceased to be an official church publication, although the Communists kept the old name in order to deceive people. A law of March 1949 created a state publishing monopoly. In May all parish libraries were purged of "undesirable" books.

Archbishop Beran in his pastoral letter of April 29, 1949, stated that since the Communist putsch there had been no religious freedom in the country and that there was no longer any religious press in Czechoslovakia. The official ecclesiastical bulletins with which the Nazis never attempted to interfere had been eliminated. Even prayer books had to be submitted to censorship. The government agreed to authorize the resumption of *Rosevac* (*Rosary)* provided it was published under the control of a political commissar, whose duty it would be to insert political articles.

In April 1949 the prohibition of religious publications was extended even to mimeographed bulletins. Communist commissars were placed in the former Catholic publishing houses and the stocks of Catholic books were destroyed. To replace the official diocesan publications known as *Actus Curiae,* with which the Nazis never interfered, the government issued a so-called *Bulletin of the Catholic Clergy* and decreed that it was henceforth the only official Catholic publication, and that no order to the clergy from their superiors was valid unless printed in it. This publication was immediately denounced by the hierarchy and all Catholics were forbidden to read it. A government list of prohibited books includes many papal encyclicals.

A high priority in the anti-Church campaign was given to the elimination or neutralizing of all Catholic organizations. The nationwide charitable organization Caritas was transferred from Catholic to Communist control. The Catholic Slovak Union (women) was forcibly incorporated in the Communist League of Slovak Women. The central Catholic Chancellery of Bratislava was closed and its director arrested. A decree was issued that youth could in future be organized only in the Communist Youth Movement. Catholic hospitals were nationalized. The centuries-old association of Slovak Catholics, Spolok Svateho Vojtecha, had in 1945 some 200,000 members. By 1948 its membership had grown to 380,000 by reason of the violent reaction of the Slovak people against the antireligious programs of the Communists. To counter this threat the government appointed a suspended Catholic priest, Horak, as commissar. A year later all its activities had ceased other than a drive to get enough members to remain in existence so that it could continue to function as a Communist front.

In 1945 the government selected the Svaz Ceskej Mladeze (Czech Youth Association) as a central organization to which all youth organizations should be affiliated and subject. Even at that time the Svaz had a definitely materialistic and Communist attitude. Gradually all the other youth organizations were abolished until in April 1949 only Svaz remained, with Czech, Slovak, Hungarian, Polish, and Ruthenian-Ukrainian subbranches.

The Communist-sponsored and Communist-dominated National Front, in its resolution of March 18, 1948, declared that religious freedom was a basic principle of the people's democracy. This principle was incorporated in the constitution of May 9, 1949, which declared that everybody had the right both privately and publicly to belong to any religion, while everyone had also the right not to belong to any religion.

Nevertheless, as already indicated, the Communists devoted a large part of their efforts to the allied tasks of wooing Catholics away from their allegiance to the Holy See and fostering a completely subservient national church.*

As part of this campaign, and in keeping with the general Communist technique of using time-honored titles to deceive the people and cover their own intentions, they set up in June 1949 a government-controlled "Catholic Action" with the expropriated Catholic Slovak weekly *Katolicke Novini* as its official organ. At the same time they arrested Dr. Antonin Mandl, the 30-year-old secretary of the official Catholic Action which they were trying to absorb. Against the protest of the bishops, they continued to publish under Communist direction the *Bulletin of the Catholic Clergy* and ordered all priests to keep it on file as the only authorized organ for instructions to the clergy. To make the clergy completely dependent financially on state subsidies, they forbade the taking of collections in churches, and they further declared that only clerical appointments approved by the government would be valid. At the same time they restated their determination to have all children educated in Marxism-Leninism.

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* The Communists are always ready to settle for a subservient church through which they can impress on people's minds their own ideas. As the English *Clergy Review* wrote in November 1950: "It is the formative influence of the Church on the minds of the coming generation that matters above all else to these Communists. The spiritual influence of the Church does not matter, for they do not believe in it. The political power of reaction which the Christians are said to represent means little and is only a pretext for persecution. What does matter is the claim of the Church to exercise a teaching mission, and what finally led to the arrest and imprisonment of Cardinal Mindszenty after he had given Hungarian Catholics more than three years of strong leadership since the war, was his reaction to the sequestration and nationalization of the schools. . . ." In Czechoslovakia the Communists had comparatively little opposition from the Protestant churches. They were able to impose on them leaders willing to accept dictation, and then their substantial aims were achieved. They worry little about people going to church so long as the priests are Communist mouthpieces and the education is conducted according to the tenets of Marxism-Leninism.

Because the Catholic press had been completely choked, only the government's case could be heard. The bishops, however, did all in their power to prevent deception of the faithful. The Holy Office excommunicated the supporters of the spurious "Catholic Action" in June, and Archbishop Beran on behalf of the hierarchy issued two condemnatory pastoral letters, reviewing the progress of persecution. "All church schools are nationalized," he wrote, "all Catholic papers are stopped, pilgrimages are forbidden, processions are not allowed. There are no answers on memoranda, complaints, requests, and protests. . . . It is commonly known that in publishing houses all Catholic books have been confiscated and destroyed."

The government used its monopoly of communications media to shout down the protests. Ignoring the fact that Archbishop Beran had been interned at Dachau during the war, Laco Novomesky, education commissioner for Slovakia, accused him of having been pro-Nazi and always an enemy of the people. Posing as defender of patriotic priests against tyrannical bishops, the government declared that every attempt to enforce the Holy Office excommunication would be punished as treason and charged that the hierarchy, in collaboration with Washington, was setting up a subversive underground.

On July 15, Cepicka boasted that 2,000 priests had joined "Catholic Action." But two days later the priests all over the country read from their pulpits the bishops' condemnation. The dean of Bratislava, who announced from his pulpit that every priest but one in the city had remained faithful, and that the renegade was excommunicated, was imprisoned for this action. Father Fiala, who had been the leading proponent of cooperation with the

Communists from 1946 to May 1949, refused to join. "There can be no compromise with people in bad faith, as the Communists are," he declared. "Even the Catholics of the Oriental Rite will be liquidated and the Protestants also will be persecuted in their turn."

The *Katolicke Novini* dwindled from its former circulation of 180,000 to 30,000. Only 400 readers continued their subscriptions. Everywhere the bishops and priests read the papal excommunication, affixed it to the church doors, and enforced it notwithstanding the government penalties. Of 7,000 priests in Czechoslovakia, only 15 to 20 adhered to the misleading pseudo-Catholic Action, though many signatures were fraudulently obtained. And the people boycotted the churches of the priests who joined.

The fidelity of the clergy and people only increased the rage and violence of the Communists. On June 21 Premier Zapotocky said in a broadcast: "Catholics cooperate with the enemies of the country. They are enemies of the people's democracy and the Five Year Plan. They violate freedom of conscience. They exercise terror over the consciences of the faithful." Deputy Premier Fierlinger added at the Huss Memorial Day in Husinec on July 5: "Huss fought not only against the immorality of the Catholic Church but also against the increasing German influence in Bohemia which was backed by the corrupt Catholic hierarchy and the Pope. Now the battle between Czechoslovakia and Rome is renewed." And at a Huss Memorial celebration at Devin, Premier Zapotocky said: "The Catholic clergy are traitors and are in the pay of foreign capitalism." At Sazala, Education Minister Nejedly repeated the same charges: "The Catholic Church is an enemy of socialism and of the Slav people. The state will deal with those bishops who are in the service of a foreign power as traitors. The clergy should not follow their bishops."

The Communists thus tried to utilize the memory of Jan Huss, a leader of the Czech Religious Movement in the fifteenth century, who was burned at the stake and is considered by many Czechs and foreigners a symbol both of heroic self-sacrifice and of anti-Catholicism. Their purpose was to win the support of non-Communist anti-Catholics. But it failed. Not only the deeply religious people but even the anti-Catholic intellectuals realized all too well that there is no point of contact between Communist secularism and liberalist secularism, that Communist "progress" is essentially different from the ideals of the so-called progressives of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

About the same time the Communist Party sent new instructions to all regional branches that all priests should be kept under constant surveillance, church celebrations obstructed, the members of the clergy classified according to behavior as progressive or reactionary, the atheistic movement openly helped and promoted, and the fight against the Church conducted in the open.

This instruction heralded what the Vatican radio described in May 1949 as a fight without quarter against the Catholic Church in Slovakia. Three Basilian monasteries and a Franciscan monastery were closed. Seventeen Basilian priests, 30 Basilian nuns, and 50 Franciscan monks were imprisoned.

The bishops did everything possible to be conciliatory and avoid the open clash which the Communists seemed determined to provoke. When Gottwald was elected President, Archbishop Beran and Bishops Josef Matocha and Andrej Skrabik declared: "We are fully aware that according to Christ's words, 'Give unto Caesar that which is Caesar's,' we have heavy responsibilities toward the state. We can assure you, Mr. President, that we will fulfil those responsibilities with the faithfulness to which we are obliged by conscience and duty. But we do not forget that this sentence of Christ continues that we should give unto God that which is God's. We therefore hope that the freedom of religion guaranteed by our new constitution will be maintained." At the same time they asked that settlement should be reached on the various questions in dispute, the Catholic press, religious societies, charitable associations, and schools. They also asked that relations with the Vatican should be clarified and that attacks on the Vatican should stop.

Archbishop Beran again declared in his pastoral letter of June 15, 1949, that he had made a declaration of loyalty to the republic when he assumed office and that he would remain always faithful to that declaration. He had always desired settlement by mutual agreement of all problems between church and state as the basis for fruitful collaboration between the two parties. But he had to deplore the statement made at the May congress of the Communist Party by Education Minister Nejedly that religious education was an anachronism and that the function of the schools was to create a new Communist type of man.

By this time the Czechoslovak National Church had been thoroughly penetrated by the Communists. This was equally true of the Orthodox Church which, notwithstanding the small number of its members, had had its Exarch at Prague raised to the rank of Metropolitan on a level with Moscow, Kiev, and Leningrad. The Communists had first ensured that the Orthodox Church would be completely subservient by purging its ranks and placing their nominees in the highest positions. They had set out to use it, as in other Communist-dominated countries, as an instrument of Soviet Pan-Slavism, and tried to make it appear that Orthodoxy was the traditional religion of all Slavs.

On June 15, 1949, the police entered Archbishop Beran's palace, seized his duplicating machine and seals. A layman, Dr. Houska, was named supervisor of the Consistory, and laymen were appointed to run church offices all over Czechoslovakia. These supervisors take it upon themselves to decide even sacramental matters, placing the diocesan seals on their orders to the clergy. One of them issued instructions to the priests not to insist on the conditions imposed by Canon Law on mixed marriages, on the ground that they interfered with liberty.

On June 18 Archbishop Beran issued a pastoral letter in which he asked the priests not to sign any agreement that would violate the laws of God or infringe the rights of the church and its bishops. Like Cardinal Mindszenty, he warned them not to believe any confession or agreement bearing his signature. The Communists immediately issued an order sealed with the Archbishop's seal forbidding the reading of this pastoral letter.

The following day the Communists prevented the Archbishop from delivering his Sunday sermon in St. Vitus's Cathedral. He returned to his palace, where he constituted himself a prisoner. His pastoral letter was read that day by, according to the Communist estimate, 55 per cent of the priests.

Three new decrees were issued on June 25 forbidding the issuance of pastorals, circulars, or other communications from the bishops to the clergy and faithful without advance approval, forbidding all church meetings without advance approval, and forbidding any punishment by ecclesiastical authorities for any political activity. Simultaneously the Communists continued their attacks on the Vatican and the bishops and started arresting priests who were active in supporting the bishops. In Slovakia the peasants, with scythes, pitchforks, and clubs, faced tear gas, automatic weapons, and tanks to shield their priests from the Communist police. The Communist *Rude Pravo* charged that the Catholic leaders had organized an antistate underground. No newsmen were allowed to go to Slovakia to investigate, and the government took the unprecedented step of declaring officially that it would consider it an act against Czechoslovakia and a gross interference in internal affairs if any foreign diplomat went to investigate. But as far as can be ascertained, the resistance was spontaneous, not organized. Catholics and Lutherans stood shoulder to shoulder in a heroic gesture against tyranny, and by means of constant guards and improvised warning systems enabled many priests to escape. And for their daring they paid dearly, some on the gallows, many in the Communist dungeons, unknown to the world but revered and respected by the peasants, who still cling to their ancient tradition of liberty, both Slovak and Czech.

The Communists made fantastic claims of wide support among the priests, whom they represented as rejecting the tyrannical dictation of reactionary bishops. But the solid stand of the priests with their bishops is evidenced by the fact that the Communists themselves had to admit that 90 percent of the clergy read a second pastoral letter repeating the condemnation of the spurious "Catholic Action," issued June 26.

Government surveillance of the bishops had reached such intensity that on June 19 Archbishop Beran announced that he was interned in his palace and no longer a free agent. In July the Bishop of Hradec Kralove was prevented by the Education Ministry from delivering a sermon and made a similar declaration. From that time, none of the bishops has been free from constant surveillance and interference of the secret police. Their chanceries were invaded by state officials who took it on themselves to regulate all official business of the Church. In each bishop's residence the Communists maintain a doorman and a commissar. The doorman demands of callers their name and business, then decides if they can see the bishop. The commissar opens and inspects all incoming mail. He takes all outgoing letters, countersigns those of which he approves, and retains the others. The bishops have been forbidden to perform any religious functions in public and may say Mass only in their private chapels. Not even a server is allowed to be present, the Communists charging that the bishops passed messages to the clergy through the servers.

In July also Cepicka announced a new law on church-state relations which set out to make all churches completely subservient to the state. It provided that all appointments to church office without exception should be subject to state approval. The clergy would be treated as civil servants and, as such, given salary, overtime, and pensions. Anyone convicted by a civil court or declared "not nationally reliable" would be ineligible to function as a clergyman. All property of the churches was declared state property, and the churches had to submit inventories and were forbidden to sell or alienate. Each church had to operate on an annual budget to be submitted in advance. Seminaries were brought under state administration. And it was provided that the law would be administered by the Ministry of Education. When announcing the contents of this proposed law, Cepicka took the opportunity to address aggressive remarks to Archbishop Beran and the Church, describing the Vatican as Czechoslovakia's arch-enemy.

In August two Catholic bishops were consecrated at Trnava by Archbishop Josef Matocha of Olomouc: Bishop Ambroz Lazik of Trnava and Bishop Robert Pobozny of Roznava. The bishops gathered for the ceremony prepared a memorandum to the government setting out terms for settlement of disputes: restoration of Archbishop Beran's freedom; withdrawal of lay supervisors from the Consistories; end of interference in education of priests;

end of restrictions on communications between bishops and faithful; suppression of the government-sponsored *Clergy Gazette;* reopening of church schools and convents; elimination of the pseudo "Catholic Action."

Meanwhile, Archbishop Beran, all the bishops, and 4,900 priests signed a declaration rejecting the proposed law. Delegates of most of the dioceses held a meeting from which they issued a communiqué asking priests not to accept higher salaries while so many Czechs were being persecuted and living in want and hardship, and also asking the priests to follow the direction of their bishops in regard to the law. But the government refused to compromise. After a debate devoted mainly to attacks on the Holy See and the bishops, the new law was approved, the sole change from the first draft being the creation of a new Ministry of Church Affairs to administer it.

The next step was an intensification of persecution of all who refused to accept the subordination of religion to the state. The General Council of the Lutheran Church in Slovakia stood firm, expressing its rejection of the proposed enslavement in a memorandum to the government. Several Jewish communities likewise registered their protests, according to the *American Jewish Year Book.* But the Czechoslovak Church, led by Patriarch Kovar, who had repeatedly served as spokesman for the Communists on religious matters, announced its support, as did the small Orthodox Church, which is directly under the Moscow Patriarchate. Leaders of the small Unitarian Church also acquiesced.

Faced with a *fait accompli,* the Catholic bishops still sought some basis for a compromise. They issued a statement authorizing the priests to swear allegiance to the regime and accept the salaries, subject to the oral or written reservation that the oath was binding only "in so far as not in conflict with the laws of God and the Church and the rights of man." At this time many hundreds of priests had been jailed for refusing to take the oath, and the bishops were faced with the prospect of complete destruction of religious life. Their statement was not signed by Archbishop Beran, who had already declared he was no longer a free agent, but by the temporary chairman of the bishops, Archbishop Josef Matocha. It declared explicitly that the bishops themselves would not accept the state salaries.

At the same time the bishops sent a memorandum to the government — the contents of which were not divulged until November — asking for a revision of the new law on the grounds that it violated the constitution, the organization of the Church, and freedom of religion. Ignoring this appeal, the government issued a new warning in November that it would not accept an oath subject to any reservations; and the bishops replied on November 17 with a further memorandum in which they charged that attempts to enforce the unjust law might plunge the country into civil war. This memorandum was signed by Archbishop Beran as well as the other bishops.

This warning only drove the government to further excesses. They claimed that many "progressive" and "patriotic" priests were rejecting the "treasonable" orders of the bishops and subscribing to the oath. The Communists announced that these subscribing priests would receive salaries ranging as high as 15,000 crowns ($300 at the official exchange rates). The average civil-service salary is 5,000 crowns, and high police officials get 12,000. By January 1950, priests were being jailed at the rate of one a day for refusing to sign. The Swiss bishops in a July pastoral said at least 300 priests were in jail. In March, Cepicka charged that the bishops by obeying the Holy See's hostile orders were committing high treason.

By that time the leaders of all other denominations had submitted, while Catholic sources said that only about five per cent of Czechoslovak priests had taken the oath of loyalty without the reservation "in so far as not in conflict with the laws of God and the Church and the rights of man."

The Communists had almost completely cut off the people of Czechoslovakia from outside contact. The Vatican chargé d'affaires had left the country in July 1949 under a barrage of attacks in the Communist press, and the government never issued a visa to his successor. The lone remaining official of the Nunciature, Monsignor Ottavio de Liva, became the butt of constant denunciations leading up to a fierce barrage at the end of February 1950. On March 16 he was given notice of expulsion in a note charging that he had directed the subversive antistate activities of the bishops. Eleven days earlier the United States embassy had been notified by the Foreign Office that all United States missionaries and clerics, and probably those of all western nations, must leave the country. Even before that formal announcement many had been expelled. The Mormon mission, for example, had been cut, in 12 months, from 39 members to one.

In January two American press representatives, one French, and one British, were expelled. It was promised that visas for replacements for all four would be issued, but the only visa actually issued was to a representative of the Associated Press, and the replacement was expelled in April, leaving the Associated Press without an American representative in Czechoslovakia. A few days later the only American representative of the United Press was also expelled. The stated reason in both cases was "unobjective reporting." In June a visa was granted a new Associated Press man, William Oatis. In April 1951 he disappeared. In response to an official query from the United States Ambassador, the Czech Foreign Minister revealed he was under arrest for "activities hostile to the state" but refused to allow the Ambassador or anybody else to see him. Oatis "confessed" in yet another staged trial in July 1951 to political, military, and economic espionage, and to complicity in the murder of a Czech officer. He was sentenced to ten years in prison.

Also in January, Henry Levy, Director of the American Joint Distribution Committee, was ordered to leave the country and liquidate the Jewish Relief Agency, which since 1945 had spent between eight and nine million dollars. This happened less than a month after the arrest in Hungary of Israel Jacobson, director of the same agency in that country, in execution of the Communist plan to strangle all religions. Levy said that of the 42,000 Czech Jews who had returned from Nazi internment camps, 22,000 to 24,000 had emigrated since May 1948. Two months later the *New York Times* said 30,000 Jews had emigrated, that 15,000 still remained in Czechoslovakia. Since then very few have been able to get permission to leave, although most of them want to do so. Their economic plight is serious, according to the memorial of March 1951 of the U. S. Jewish Labor Committee to the United Nations. "The remaining Jewish population in Czechoslovakia is in agony," said the memorial, "as their hopes for survival in their country of origin have been shattered. They are rapidly dying behind the bars of the 'Iron Curtain.'"

Evidence of the mounting tempo of persecution was provided by the 1950 budget, which nearly trebled the appropriation of the Ministry of the Interior, controller of the uniformed and secret police and of the forced labor camps. The reason for the increase was stated to be the increased activity of spies, diversionaries, and terrorists. It was said that 26,583 saboteurs and blackmarketeers had been denounced during 1949 and 3,384 brought to trial.

In March 1950, fourteen "terrorists and spies" went on trial at Hodonin, southern Moravia, on charges of working for the United States, France, and the Vatican. One was a priest charged with having read Archbishop Beran's letters from the pulpit. The press charged that their activities had been directed by several Catholic priests who had fled.

In April a Prague court sentenced a Redemptorist superior to life imprisonment, and nine other priests, including two abbots and a Jesuit provincial, to terms ranging from two to twenty-five years, with fines and deprivation of civil rights in most cases. No western reporters were admitted to the trials. Four were said to have pleaded guilty, three part guilty, and three innocent of the charges of treason, spying for the Holy See, and plotting armed revolt. The property of all but one was confiscated.

In May a priest and a layman were sentenced to life imprisonment, confiscation of all property on charges of espionage, and incitement to revolt. Another layman was sentenced to death.

These proceedings proved to be only curtain raisers for the trial in November of a bishop and eight high churchmen in a performance which showed that the Czech Communists had developed to a high degree the technique of shattering the wills and personalities of their victims. An analysis of the partial statements of the victims which were published shows that in their abject admissions of guilt were patently false statements and a Communist phraseology completely foreign to the speakers. Nine defense lawyers said the charges of treason, espionage, subversive propaganda, and helping people flee the country had been fully proved. Six of the defendants pleaded guilty. The others were not asked to plead but admitted guilt. Bishop Stanislav Zela, 57, Vicar-General of the Archdiocese of Olomouc, who was sentenced to 25 years and fined 50,000 crowns ($1,000), confessed to collaboration with the Nazis, whereas in fact he was a staunch opponent and was interned by them in Dachau and Buchenwald (where he was No. 25548). Benedictine Abbot Jan Opasek received a life sentence and was fined 100,000 crowns. The others were given heavy fines and sentenced for terms ranging from 10 to 25 years. At the trial the Vatican was denounced as Fascist and in league with Wall Street. The Oriental Institute in Rome was called a school for spies, saboteurs, and murderers.

At this trial a new charge – economic sabotage – was introduced. This arose from an order of the Office for Church Affairs promulgated early in 1950 which obliged priests to propagate the new socialism and support it with the teachings of Jesus Christ. In what was interpreted as an effort to get at least one bishop to break with the hierarchy and lead a schismatic church, the bishops were described by the prosecution as the real authors of the crimes charged and more guilty than the actual defendants.

But the main venom of the prosecution was reserved for Archbishop Beran, and strenuous efforts were made to procure evidence that could later be used against him. Refugees reaching Austria in the last months of 1950 declared their belief that he was no longer in his palace at Prague but in Pankrac jail, scene of recent trials of Catholic prelates, where many victims are held in solitary confinement until they become physical and mental wrecks and ready for the "confession" treatment. Official Czech sources confirmed on March 10, 1951, that the Archbishop had been banned from Prague and fined 100,000 crowns ($2,000) for his "uncooperative attitude."

Beran is the hero and living epitome of the Czech masses. He was always known for his civic mindedness and his devotion to the nation. When Czech industrialists and big businessmen collaborated with the Nazis, Beran stood out against them and was interned in Dachau. He did everything possible to make peace with the Communists, adopting the same attitude as Pius XI, who once said he would make a concordat with the devil if by that means he could save souls without yielding on matters of principle. But that was not enough for the Communists, who require total surrender. Only the elimination of Beran, symbol like Mindszenty and Stepinac of the primacy of the spirit, will satisfy them.

The third staged trial of high ecclesiastics was held in January 1951. Bishop Jan Vojtassak of Spis was given a sentence of twenty-four years. Byzantine Rite Bishop Pavel Gojdic of Presov and Bishop Michael Buzalka, Auxiliary to the Apostolic Administrator of Trnava, received life sentences. The charges were high treason, military espionage, and other crimes. All had been under mental conditioning in jail for several months. The Associated Press correspondent was excluded from the trial, most news of which came from the Prague radio, including the claim that they had confessed. Quoted excerpts indicated they were speaking out of character, repeating mechanically stereotyped Communist phrases.

Yet another trial, this one apparently held in secret, was reported in February 1951 by the official news agency. It said that six priests, including the secretaries of Archbishops Beran and Matocha, had received prison sentences of four to thirteen years for high treason and espionage.

The three bishops sentenced in January were known for their outspoken opposition to the government-sponsored schism movement which patterned persecution of religion during 1950. Despite the substantial failure up to now, there is no indication of any let-up. As in Rumania and elsewhere, the first attack was on Catholics of the Eastern Rite, who have been subjected to violence reminiscent of the persecution of the early Christians. Bishop Pavel Gojdic of Presov, the only Byzantine Rite diocese in the country, is under life sentence, and his auxiliary, Bishop Basil Hopkow, has disappeared. About a hundred of his priests are in concentration camps or prisons.

Following a meeting at Bratislava of about 300 persons, including 50 priests, which was bludgeoned by the Communists into recommending union with the Orthodox Church, the Communists have taken the attitude that all Eastern Rite Catholics are incorporated in the Orthodox Church. Priests who offer to resign their parishes rather than apostatize are sentenced as saboteurs. High-school students are barred from final examinations unless they apostatize. Orthodox priests, completely unknown to the inhabitants, have taken charge of the diocese. As has already been pointed out, these are not real Orthodox priests but MVD employees accredited by the Communist-dominated Moscow Patriarch, and acting as agents of the secret police. The Orthodox hierarchy and clergy in all free countries have repudiated this Communist-controlled sham which represents itself as the Orthodox Church.

In the Latin Rite dioceses the Office of Church Affairs is gradually assuming similar powers. Zdenek Fierlinger, who became Minister for Church Affairs in April 1950, issued a decree empowering local authorities to hire and fire all clergymen. He appointed Rev. Jan Dechet, an excommunicated priest, as apostolic administrator of the vacant diocese of Banska Bystrica, and Rev. Joseph Buchta as vicar-general of Budejovice (Budweis). These priests and administrators call themselves Catholics in order to deceive the people, but they are rejected by the Holy See, the bishops, and the people. Wherever they officiate, the churches are empty. Refugee priests from this diocese have declared repeatedly that they knew no priest named Buchta. It is now the established policy to nominate a Communist "vicar-general" in each diocese from which a bishop is deported.

The ecclesiastical training of candidates for the priesthood and ministry has completely stopped. The official government gazette announced in August that all Catholic, Evangelical, Baptist, and Czech Brethren theological schools had been abolished and replaced by state institutions. Two seminaries for Catholics would be opened at Prague and Bratislava; two Evangelical seminaries, both in Prague, and an Orthodox seminary. Previously there was no Orthodox seminary in the country. The Office for Church Affairs, said the official statement, would decide who would be admitted, and would appoint all professors. The new seminaries will have a four-year course, two years devoted to learning to preach and administer, and two years of theology taught in the light of Marxism-Leninism.

All theology students were sent written instructions in July 1950 to return to the new colleges for political training courses; disobedience to this order would bar them from further studies. Only some two per cent obeyed, and the others were called for military service. There were 450 students in the Slovak seminaries in 1949-1950, but in March 1951 there were only 37 in the state seminary at Bratislava, and many of these had not even finished their secondary training. Many of the defiant students were reported to be continuing their studies in secret. To attract students to the new seminaries, they were told celibacy would be optional, that they would have only two years of study, and that they would receive monthly salaries of 11,000 crowns ($220) as against the average salary of 3,000 crowns, and the use of a personal automobile. Vice-Premier Zdenek Fierlinger, who is personally directing the program to consummate a schism, stated in the magazine *Parallel 50* in February 1951 that the first students from the state seminaries had been ordained by Bishops Eltschkner and Lazik. To make way for them, priests are being ousted from their parishes. Many other parishes are being placed under jurisdiction of the subservient Czechoslovak National Church. Highly circumstantial reports speak of the transfer in sealed cars of priests and religious through the border railway station of Csop to Soviet Russia, confirming the popular belief that "incorrigible" priests and religious are being shipped to Siberia.

The Amsterdam daily *De Tijd* said in December 1950 that in the previous month 300 members of religious orders were shipped in cattle cars through Bratislava (Presbourg) to an unknown destination. One who escaped told its correspondent that hundreds of priests had been deported and an even bigger number of clerics of German ethnic origin had been expelled. People were down to subsistence level and were being forced to work harder and harder, keep their mouths closed, listen to speeches, and work even on Sundays and holidays. But the worst part was the religious distress, the fear of informers, and the intellectual vacuum. Priests still able to exercise the ministry were few, and they were isolated from their bishops and the Holy See. They didn't know whom to trust, since all church communiqués and religious publications emanated from the Office for Church Affairs headed by Zdenek Fierlinger. Apostates controlled Catholic Action. The priests were afraid to visit the homes of the faithful and worked almost exclusively in the church, where even their sermons were checked. Agents provocateurs sought to trap them in the confessional, asking if other priests, government supported or bogus, were in good standing and if it was proper to receive the sacraments from them.

Persons who gained access to the municipal hospital at Semily, Bohemia, are said to have reported that monks and nuns are being infected by medical treatments with syphilis and then produced at trials as evidence of the immoral lives of religious. A Vatican source placed at over 2,000 in mid-December 1950 the number of priests jailed, held in concentration camps, or inducted for forced labor. The first months of 1951 saw more open violence against the Catholic Church in Czechoslovakia than any previous period. In addition to trials of churchmen on trumped-up charges designed to represent the Church as the enemy of the people, a new crime was invented. Reverend Vaclav Pacha, secretary to Archbishop Beran; Reverend Josef Ryska, secretary to Archbishop Matocha, and Reverend Rudolf Rytir, secretary to Bishop Maurice Picha of Hradec Kralove, were sentenced, the first to 13 and the others to 12 years, for activities which were part of their priestly duties. The specific charges were that they had sent reports on the spiritual situation in their dioceses to the Apostolic Nunciature in Prague while that office was still functioning, and that they had dispatched pastoral letters and episcopal instructions to the diocesan priests. The conviction of the secretaries for their purely ministerial acts paved the way for a later trial of the bishops who ordered these acts.

In the first months of 1951 the pattern of the Communist program for a schismatic church became clearer. They are trying to retain the organization of the Catholic Church and to make it appear to the people that this Church has itself thrown off allegiance to Rome and opted instead for allegiance to Communism. After banishing Archbishop Beran and imprisoning the last canons of the cathedral, they then in March 1951 named four new canons, Kubik, Stehlik, Novak, and Kotalik. Claiming that the see was vacant because of the banishment of the Archbishop and the "resignation" of the previous Vicar Capitular, they purported to act in accordance with Canon Law in having the four canons named by them "elect" as Vicar Capitular one of their number, Reverend Antonin Stehlik. In other dioceses, as in Banska Bystrica, they have made similar elaborate efforts to give a semblance of legality to their usurpation of Church authority. A few of their nominees are known as priests who had previously been in conflict with their religious superiors but most are unknown even by name to Czech and Slovak priests in exile, who generally believe that many are not true priests but policemen dressed in clerical habits.

In March 1951, also, the Czech official news agency claimed that five other diocesan heads (in addition to Bishop Antonin Eltschkner, Auxiliary of Prague, and Bishop Edward Necsey, Apostolic Administrator of Nitra, said to have done so earlier) had taken the oath of loyalty. They were listed as Bishop Josef Carsky, Apostolic Administrator of Kosice; Bishop Moric Picha of Hradec Kralove; Bishop Stefan Trochta of Litomerice; Bishop Ambroz Lazik, Apostolic Administrator of Trnava, and Monsignor Frantisek Onderek, described as Apostolic Administrator of Tesin. What truth, if any, this claim contains cannot be ascertained, since all these churchmen are kept completely isolated by the Communists. Some reports assert they have been drugged or tortured. Nor is it clear, assuming the accuracy of the claim, what it represents in relation to forming a schismatic church. The mere taking of the oath, subject to the same conditions (see page 45) under which Czech priests were authorized to take it, would not constitute an act of schism. What is clear is the effort of the Communists to confuse the Catholic faithful and make them believe that the church leaders are repudiating their allegiance to the Holy See.

Members of the religious orders have been nearly all rounded up and placed in concentration monasteries. The interned nuns are made to work in communal kitchens and factories. The priests are held like dangerous criminals behind electrified wire fences, watched day and night by armed guards, in camps popularly known as "Red Dachaus." Students of the former seminaries who refuse to study in the state seminaries are punished with the worst forms of slave labor, many in the notorious camp at Vykmanov near Jachymov which supplies labor for the Russian-controlled uranium mines. A report prepared by the U. S. Council of Free Czechoslovakia states that transfer to this camp usually means a death sentence within a few months, since nearly all workers contract cancer of the lungs. The Council says that at one period there were 14,000 in the 11 camps at the uranium mines, and that the total forced labor pool early in 1950 was 180,000. Sentences to forced labor are handed out on simple suspicion, and the victim does not even appear before the Committee which issues the decree.

Three thousand of Czechoslovakia's 7,000 priests were estimated by April 1951 to be in jail or otherwise prevented from their ministry. Nearly 70 per cent of the parishes had no resident priest. Even the priests still working were completely isolated from each other and from their superiors, because a police permit was needed for a priest to leave his parish.

How accurate are some of the alarmist reports emanating from Czechoslovakia itself, cannot be estimated. It is known that the Communists are propagating all kinds of fantastic rumors to create confusion and despondency. The Prague *Svobodne Slovo* even stated that Archbishop Beran had approved the spurious seminaries, and the official news agency said that Bishop Eltschkner had attended a "peace meeting." In November the Vatican radio urged Czech Catholics not to give credence to such rumors as that the bishops had endorsed the antichurch activities of the regime. And in April 1951 it again urged Catholics of Czechoslovakia not to put too much credence in reported statements of church dignitaries. "You must be careful," it said, "not to be influenced by official reports on statements or actions attributed to persons. . . . It is impossible to check reports. . . . Statements can be forced by moral or other kinds of pressure or violence which may result in a state in which persons concerned are not responsible for their actions."

But what is clear is that Czechoslovakia has for ten years been a battlefield for human rights. The victims have been Czechs, Slovaks, Germans, Hungarians, Catholics, Protestants, Jews, and people who did not believe in any particular church. And the aggressors were and are the Communists who never forgot the statement of policy formulated by Gottwald in 1929: "You ask what we want. Gentlemen, we want to break your necks."

3. *THE UKRAINE*

BECAUSE of the many changes of political boundaries and continuous internal strife, it is hard to define precisely the geographical limits of the Ukraine. Its history is interwoven with that of Russia, whose empire the Ukrainians claim to have founded. Kiev was its religious and for long its cultural center.

During the centuries of subjection under the Czars, the Ukrainians never lost their separate language or their national identity, and they struggled constantly to vindicate their separate rights. At the outbreak of the first world war all they had achieved was a very limited administrative autonomy, but the Russian Revolution promised them more. In 1918 they set up a short-lived national state which still retains a tenuous existence in a government in exile claiming to be its legal successor but recognized by no sovereign state. The peace treaties after the war incorporated the greater part of the Ukraine in the Soviet Union, with smaller sections attached to Poland and Rumania.*

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* Subcarpathian Ruthenia, also called Subcarpathian Russia, Carpatho-Ukraine, and Russinsko, was for some nine centuries part of the Hungarian kingdom, until in 1918 the Great Powers attached it to Czechoslovakia, granting it autonomy. This small territory is a microcosm of the Danube Basin. The political affiliations of its Ruthenian inhabitants ranged from Russophile through Ukrainian nationalist to pro-Hungarian. Hungarians regarded it as properly a part of their national territory because their ancestors had come into the Danube valley through its mountain passes and because it was full of historic connections and traditional associations. In addition to Ruthenians it included Jews, Hungarians, Slovaks, Germans, Rumanians, Poles, and Gypsies, and the religious composition was as complex as the national. High mountains separated it from the Ukrainians who lived in Galicia under Polish rule. When an independent Slovakia was created in 1938, Ruthenia was reunited to Hungary, and after the war it looked as if it would be restored to Czecho-

In the years immediately following the Communist seizure of power in the Soviet Union, the political aspirations of the Ukrainians were ruthlessly suppressed. Even their language was hampered until 1931. In that year Moscow seemed to undergo a change of heart. Not only was the Ukrainian language restored to favor but there was introduced a general policy of encouragement of regional characteristics. In consequence, the Ukrainian patriots who had been cherishing their love of their homeland in secret came out into the open. For a time they were welcomed and honored by the Soviet leaders. Then when their identity and importance as leaders of their people were established, a new purge eliminated them and restored the direct dictatorship of Moscow. Only when the United Nations Organization was established and the Soviet Union was anxious to increase its votes did it alter its constitution to give on paper the semblance of independence to Byelorussia and the Ukraine, both of which by that time were thoroughly subjected to the directions of Moscow. These two units were represented to be distinct sovereign states, members of a free federation, in the same way that Canada is sovereign while retaining, of her free will, membership in the Commonwealth of Nations; and on this basis they received separate representation and voting power in the United Nations. Yet in actual fact these so-called republics have less autonomy than have Wyoming or Rhode Island. All the rulers of the Ukraine are stooges of Moscow and some of them are not even Ukrainian by birth.

Most of the Ukrainians were small landowners, strongly attached to the soil and to their ideals. There has always been a close emotional association between religion and national feeling, as commonly happens where nationalism has been persecuted over long periods. Ukrainians almost without exception belonged either to the Ukrainian autocephalous Orthodox Church or to the Catholic Church of the Oriental Rite. In both cases the priests married, and the sons of the priests frequently also became priests or cultural and national leaders, or often both. The entire cultural and spiritual life of the nation was accordingly absorbed into this marriage of the national and of the religious elements.

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slovakia. But the Soviets occupied it and annexed it to the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic.

The Ukraine is a very rich country, its fertile soil making of it the granary of Europe. It has coal and iron and hydroelectric power. And its cultural resources are not less than its material ones. The one and the other are reflected in the great cathedral of Kiev. Here are enshrined the most cherished traditions alike of the Orthodox Church and of the Slav Catholics of the Oriental Rite. Ukrainian folk tales recounting the heroic deeds of the struggle with Genghis Khan and his Tartars became the common patrimony of the entire Russian Empire.

The partitions of the Ukraine, while never succeeding in destroying the sense of national unity, created wounds as deep as did the partitions of Poland. The greater part of the Ukraine had from the seventeenth century been politically within the Russian Empire, and most of its inhabitants belonged to the Orthodox Church at the time of the Russian Revolution. Catholicism survived only in those regions of Byelorussia and of the Ukraine which had formerly formed part of Poland and Lithuania and in which there had been an intensive missionary activity. Within the Czarist empire, the Catholics of the Oriental Rite were severely persecuted as constituting a threat to the official Orthodox Church, while Latin Catholics were considered foreigners and given wider toleration.

In 1917 there were in the whole of Russia 6,000,000 Catholics, in large part in Byelorussia and the Ukraine. Three of Russia's five Catholic dioceses (Kamienec Podolski, Zytomir, Tiraspol) were in the Ukraine. As in the rest of Russia, so in the Soviet Ukraine all of this Catholic organization was wiped out in a few years by the concentrated antireligious terror of the Revolution. By 1926 there remained in the whole of Russia only 396 Catholic priests. In 1925 there were only six priests and no bishop in the Ukraine dioceses of Zytomir and Tiraspol. The last exarch or bishop of the Catholic Oriental Rite of the Ukraine had died in prison. The Orthodox Church was subjected to a like persecution until a few years ago, when it emerged as a docile servant of the Communists, so that an entire generation in the Soviet Ukraine has grown up under atheistic Communism, without any religious instruction, and many if not most even without the sacrament of baptism.

This prewar persecution took place within the legal framework of the Constitution of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic which, like that of the U.S.S.R., on paper recognized freedom of religious worship and freedom of antireligious propaganda, while separating the church from the state and the school from the church. Decrees and official instructions explained and implemented this constitutional provision in the sense that antireligious propaganda was a protected and encouraged activity; all the support of the state, printing presses, stocks of paper, public buildings, the streets, communications, and other facilities were at its disposal. Religious organizations, on the contrary, were denied legal personality, could not hold property, collect compulsory dues from members, organize any charitable activity for the living or dead, organize cooperatives or other social activities, organize meetings of children or youth even for prayer, open libraries or reading rooms, or even teach religion to children. A decree of April 1929 provided that only parents could teach religion to children under 18 years, and they could teach only their own children. The parent could not delegate to anybody else his right to teach religion to his children. The effect of these decrees was to restrict the activity of the Church to the single function of holding church services for those who cared to attend. There could be no action or organization outside the church building.

Such was the prewar legal status of religion in Soviet Ukraine. The Ukrainians in Poland, the Ruthenians in Czechoslovakia and Rumania were governed by the constitutional provisions affecting religion in these countries, as set out on pages 22, 77, and 190.

Those parts of Poland and Czechoslovakia annexed by the Soviets in 1939 and 1945 had in the eighteenth century belonged either to the Kingdom of Poland (and subsequently to the Hapsburg Empire) or to the Kingdom of Hungary, and consequently they had retained intact the Catholic tradition in its Latin and Oriental branches. The Polish Kingdom had created a favorable climate for reunion with Rome of large groups of Ukrainians belonging to the Ruthenian Rite. The formal act of reunion was signed in Rome on December 23, 1595, and was confirmed the following year by the Synod of Brest Litovsk. It affected Byelorussia and most of the Ukraine. Galicia, also in the Polish Kingdom, adhered a century later between 1691 and 1700, and at the same time the inhabitants of Subcarpathian Ruthenia in Hungary and the Transylvanian Rumanians joined the Catholic Church of the Oriental Rite.

After Poland's partition, the Catholic Church of the Oriental Rite was all but eliminated in the part annexed by Czarist Russia. From the end of the eighteenth century to the first world war, consequently, Catholic Ruthenians were found principally in the Hapsburg Empire, with their main representation in Galicia, Subcarpathian Ruthenia, Transylvania, and Bucovina. Between 1919 and 1939 they were distributed between Poland (Galicia), Rumania (Transylvania and Bucovina), and Czechoslovakia (Subcarpathian Ruthenia). This last region was transferred to Hungary in March 1939.

Ukrainians in Poland numbered six to eight millions, and more than three and a half million of them were Uniats, Catholics of the Oriental Rite. They were organized ecclesiastically into the metropolitan see of Lvow (Lemberg), with the three dioceses of Lvow, Stanislaviv, and Przemisl. Adding half a million Catholics of the Oriental Rite from the three quarters of a million Ruthenians of Subcarpathian Ruthenia, a hundred thousand among the Ukrainians of Bucovina and Bessarabia, and the Ukrainians who had emigrated to the United States and Canada, the total number of Catholic Ruthenians of the Oriental Rite in 1939 was about five million. During the twenty years between the two world wars, the Catholic Ukrainians of Poland and Czechoslovakia, especially those of Poland, were subjected to considerable discrimination in their character of national minorities. Ukrainian Catholics in Rumania, Czechoslovakia, and Poland had in 1937 some 4,480 churches and chapels, 210 monasteries and religious houses, 2,960 diocesan priests, 600 monastic priests, and 1,250 nuns.

Economic assets of the Catholic Church of the Oriental Rite in Poland and Czechoslovakia consisted mainly of church and parochial buildings (residences of clergy and farm buildings), which were for the most part of good or fair quality; land grants, sequestrations and annual dues of the faithful, and state subsidies (concordat with Poland). Since most of the diocesan priests were married, the income was barely enough to maintain the priest and his family.

For the whole of Galicia the Church owned 226,685 acres of land (arable land, orchards, meadows, pastures, and unutilized parcels) distributed among 1,907 parishes, which had about 2,000 priests and their families. The diocesan, cathedral, and monastic possessions amounted to a further 15,000 acres. Proportional amounts could be assigned to the Catholic Church of the Oriental Rite in Rumania and in Czechoslovakia. In addition, nearly every parish had some buildings – dwelling houses and farm structures. Only a very small proportion of parishes worked their own farms. Generally, the land was cultivated by parishioners as sharecroppers, so that a share of the proceeds went to others than to the priest. In some localities there were other donations made to the Church in the form of occasional grants and limited types of land grants.

From the first introduction of Christianity, the Church and the diocesan and monastic clergy played an important cultural role in the life of Ukrainians. When Galicia was part of the Hapsburg Empire, the Metropolitan of Lvow was a political leader of his people, and this remained true under Polish rule. Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky, who was head of the Catholic Church of the Oriental Rite in Galicia from 1900 until his death in 1944, was one of the outstanding Ruthenian leaders. The intellectuals who gave cultural impetus and direction to the people were largely recruited from the clergy and their families. From this group came most of the writers, poets, journalists, engineers, teachers, and artists. In the small towns and villages, the priests set the cultural level and maintained standards for all.

Social organization also revolved around the church and the priest. Usually the priest's wife was at the head of the charitable and benevolent organizations, while the priest himself organized and led the community's social life. He played an active part in the cooperative, the reading group, the Raiffeisen savings bank, and other economic and social groups. Local institutions, such as shelters for old people, orphanages, and homes for the sick, were supported by religious associations and directed by orders of nuns (Basilian Sisters, Sisters of the Holy Family, Sisters of St. Joseph, etc.). The nuns also directed trade schools where tailoring, dressmaking, embroidery, and other crafts were taught. They maintained first-aid posts in the villages, and hospitals in the towns and cities.

The Church was preeminent in the sphere of education. There were seminaries at Lvow and Rohatyn, junior seminaries at Zboiska and Buchach, boarding schools for girls at Przemisl, Yavoriv, Lvow, Drohobych, Stanislaviv, Berezhany, and Kolomeya; private Ukrainian gymnasia (secondary schools) under the auspices of the Basilian Sisters at Przemisl, Lvow, and Stanislaviv, and with their direct help at Rohatyn, Drohobych, and Lvow. Many secondary boarding schools, 130 orphanages, kindergartens, and summer schools were under church direction. In every town and village there were reading rooms and libraries. These were often attached to the church buildings and under the direction of the priest. Catholic congresses, conventions, and pilgrimages also constituted an important element in the cultural life. One such nationwide manifestation was the "Ukrainian Youth to Christ" congress organized by Catholic Youth at Lvow in 1933.

Each parish had at least two or three church organizations, such as brotherhoods, to which nearly all adult parishioners belonged. Their primary purposes were to beautify the church and add dignity to church rites, encourage common prayer, and deepen religious life. In addition, there were national organizations like the Brotherhood of the Sacred Heart and the Apostleship of Prayer (sponsored by the Basilian Fathers). These had hundreds of thousands of members.

Educational and charitable organizations, also closely connected with the Church, were not less important. The Marian Societies for young girls and boys, for students, and for women had a national headquarters. They organized periodical congresses and conventions, artistic and religious exhibitions, and retreats for members. They published their own magazine *Vistnyk (The Herald).* Such organizations comprised all young people at school, the young artisans and industrial workers, and many young agricultural workers. Catholic Action was expanding very rapidly, especially since the Congress held at Lvow in 1933. An Institute of Catholic Action functioned at Lvow and published *Catholic Action.*

Because of political conditions, the Ukrainian Catholic press was not too strong. Nevertheless, there were many important periodicals such as *Misionar,* a monthly founded in 1897, with a circulation of 80,000, the weekly *Nova Zorva (New Star), Pravda (Truth), Dobry Pastyr (Good Shepherd),* and *Blahovistnyk (Messenger).* Besides, the secular press, while not professedly Catholic, stood on most issues with the Church, because of the importance of the Ukrainian Catholic Church in Galicia and Carpatho-Ukraine. And there were also important scientific Catholic magazines, like *Bohoslovye* and *Notes of the Orders of St. Basil the Great.* The Basilian Fathers conducted huge publishing houses at Zhovkva and Uzhorod which turned out hundreds of thousands of copies of popular books, mostly on religious themes.

In Galicia there were, in 1938, 27 Ukrainian Catholic book and newspaper publishers with 21 regular periodicals. At war's outbreak, all had to suspend their activities, and subsequently all were completely suppressed by the Nazis and Bolsheviks. After 1945 one printing shop resumed activity at Uzhorod, Carpatho-Ukraine, and turned out a periodical. But it was quickly liquidated.

Notwithstanding the considerable controversies they had had with the Polish government during the previous twenty years, the Ukrainian population of Poland united resolutely with the Poles in their resistance to the Nazis. In the so-called General Governorship of Poland from 1939 to 1944 the Nazi authorities strongly favored the Orthodox Church and all sectarian movements calculated to weaken the Catholic Church. The Ukrainian Catholic Church suffered many restrictions and its press was severely limited through paper rationing. Many priests were arrested. The subsidies provided under the Polish concordat were withdrawn, leaving the parishes in financial straits. The outbreak of the German-Soviet war in June 1941 brought no improvement. The Nazis tried to force the priests to collect contributions and to organize contingents of workers to be sent to Germany, but they resisted firmly. Official policy toward the Catholic Church was negative. In places where the Communists had confiscated church property during the 1939-1941 occupation, the Nazis generally refused to restore it. (In a few cases they allowed temporary use.) The Church felt the heavy hand of a foreign occupying power which set out to liquidate all free life and create a condition of colonial servitude and leaderlessness.

The situation was less oppressive in Czechoslovakia, Hungary, and Rumania, where the Nazis exercised only an indirect supervision. Nevertheless, the Ukrainian Church was subjected to many restrictions. In Carpatho-Ukraine, for example, the government forbade the Basilian Fathers to continue their activities as a religious order, notwithstanding the fact they had been working there for centuries. The Catholic press was everywhere subjected to censorship.

When the Nazis overran Soviet Ukraine, the people – who had been under Soviet domination since 1920 – manifested a great religious resurgence. The German troops passed quickly through the area, and the Ukrainians thought the moment had come to restore the Orthodox Church, which had been all but annihilated by the Bolsheviks. The great majority of the people were of the opinion that they should unite politically under the leadership of Catholic Metropolitan Sheptytsky of the Oriental Rite, and later many of the Orthodox favored a religious union also.

The Ukrainian autocephalous Orthodox Church was severely hampered by the lack of priests and of organizations. The Nazis forbade Catholic priests from Galicia to enter the Soviet Ukraine and deported any who violated the prohibition. The Nazis were also opposed to the Ukrainian autocephalus Orthodox Church's becoming powerful, and still more to its negotiations with the Catholic Church; in November 1942 they issued a secret instruction to the German police in the Ukraine to take steps to prevent such an occurrence. They accordingly exercised a strict supervision over the clergy and liquidated recalcitrant priests or deported them as slave workers to Germany. They took particular steps to keep the young people away from church influence, forbidding religious manifestations in which youth groups took part, banning holy days and the observance of Sunday during harvest time, maintaining the Soviet ban on religious schools. It was clear that the Nazis were determined to prevent the development in the Soviet Ukraine of any organization which might impede their policy of integration of the newly conquered territories in their colonial empire.

Parallel with the oppression of religion by the Nazis in the Ukraine went an oppression of Ukrainian nationalism which had revealed itself from the moment of the Nazi invasion of Russia. It was quite evident that great numbers of Ukrainians had never willingly accepted the Communist domination of Moscow, and they thought the Germans would support them and permit them to build up a strong independent state that would cut off Russia from southeastern Europe. But the Nazis were not interested in liberating the Ukraine. Their interest was to make it a dependency of the Reich. The Gestapo accordingly went to work, treating the Ukrainian nationalists as no less hostile than the Communists.

The Ukrainian nationalists, who had revealed themselves as enemies of the Communists, now found themselves between two fires. But centuries of underground existence have made of them specialists in conspiracy and perfected among them systems of secret organizations modeled along the lines of the famous semisecret organization, the OUN. They formed a secret guerrilla army, the UPA, which started in 1941 to fight both the Germans and the Russians, being thus the first resistance army to fight the Communists during the second world war. After the collapse of Germany, this Ukrainian army made peace with its one-time enemy, the Poles, and continued to fight in the whole of the Ukraine against the Communists. With unparalleled self-sacrifice and heroism it has since continued to wage war inside Soviet Russia.

It was announced at the end of 1950 that General Taras Tchuprinka, described as leader of this Ukrainian army of liberation, was overrun at his secret headquarters in the neighborhood of Kiev and killed by the MVD. Nobody knows if Tchuprinka was in fact leader of the Resistance or not. But it seems established that the Resistance continues to organize acts of sabotage and to engage at times in open warfare not only in the Ukraine but in all the occupied countries of eastern Europe, in Estonia, in Lithuania, in Poland, in Hungary, in Rumania. Only a deep religious faith and an overwhelming solidarity of the masses with their national as well as spiritual leaders, the priests, could steel men to the sacrifices involved in such humanly hopeless resistance.

In 1945 the entire territory of the Ukraine, with the exception of small segments in Poland and Rumania, was incorporated in the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic. The Soviets organized a "repatriation movement" and exchange of populations so that Ukrainians might all be brought within the Soviet Union. More than 300,000 Ukrainians, with 300 Catholic priests, became displaced persons in western Europe. The victory of the United Nations thus set the seal on the conquests which Stalin had made in 1939 and 1940 in cooperation with Hitler, conquests which had been temporarily lost when the Nazis invaded Russia in 1941.

Of the 11,800,000 people who, according to official Polish statistics, inhabited the Polish lands incorporated by the Soviets in 1939 and reconquered by the Soviet armies in 1944, some 6,000,000 were Ukrainians. A further 500,000 Lithuanians, Byelorussians, and Ukrainians (who comprised perhaps 100,000 of the total) were transferred in 1946 from Poland to Russia in pursuance of the agreement for exchange of populations, the Poles receiving in return about 900,000 Catholics who had lived in the territories incorporated into Russia.

These great displacements of frontiers and of populations did not introduce new problems for Catholics of the Latin Rite in Russia, because the Polish Catholics and also Latin Catholics not of Polish nationality living in the transferred Polish lands were repatriated to Poland. But for the Catholic Ruthenians of the Oriental Rite it signified a catastrophe. They were at the mercy of their new Soviet rulers, and there was no place for them as Catholics of the Oriental Rite in the Soviet scheme. When the Soviet troops reoccupied Galicia in 1944, their attitude toward the Catholic Church was entirely different from what it had been in 1939. On that occasion the Soviet army had explicit orders not to interfere with the Catholic Church of the Oriental Rite. They had imposed the restrictions on religious activities and manifestations provided by the Soviet constitution, and expelled the Latin bishop and the Armenian bishop of Lvow. But they realized that the reverence and regard of the Catholic Ukrainians of the Ruthenian Rite for their great leader Metropolitan Sheptytsky was such that any interference with him would rouse the unanimous opposition of the people. So they confined themselves to seizing most of the Church's property, removing the crucifix from the schools, dismissing the nuns, and generally indicating their hostility to religion without undertaking any wholesale campaign against it.

There was a widespread hope and belief among the Ruthenians in 1944 that the Soviet government had really modified its attitude to religion. They had seen in the previous years the revival of the Orthodox Church with the approval of Stalin, the honors accorded to Patriarch Sergei of Moscow and to his successor Patriarch Alexei. They hoped that the Communists would be prepared to establish a *modus vivendi* with the Catholic Church of the Oriental Rite also. They accordingly welcomed the Soviet armies and did all in their power to cooperate with the new government. As a token of its anxiety to do its part, the Ruthenian Catholic Church of the Oriental Rite made a donation of 100,000 roubles to the field hospitals of the Soviet army.

But in November 1944 Metropolitan Sheptytsky died. His death was the signal for the Communists to reveal their true plans, which had been concealed in the first months by a permission to continue religious activities and the teaching of religion inside the churches, together with a kind of *de facto* neutrality toward religion in the state schools, and no action against the convents. With the active cooperation of the Communist-dominated and servile Orthodox Church, they initiated an offensive against the Catholics of the Oriental Rite with the professed object of forcing them to "return to the faith of their fathers," that is to say, to sever their connection with Rome and accept the leadership of the Moscow Patriarch. As a warning to others, a sentence of four years was imposed on a priest who wrote an article against antireligious propaganda. Next came the first of a series of "appeals" from Patriarch Alexei of Moscow to rejoin Slav Orthodoxy. It was urged that the historical reasons which had produced the "schism" for the benefit of the Polish Empire had lost their validity. The national unity of the Ukraine had at last been achieved, and it was proper that the religious divisions that had resulted from the partition of the Ukraine and the sojourn of the Catholics of the Oriental Rite among strangers should end.

But the argument about history was only a beginning. When it had no effect, it was soon reinforced by even more deceitful tactics and a demonstration of violence. In April 1945 the entire Ukrainian Catholic hierarchy and many priests were arrested. The only bishop who was not kept in captivity was the bishop of Przemisl. His cathedral city was still in Polish territory, though a large part of his diocese had been incorporated into the Soviet Ukraine. He was deported to Poland. The accusation against the bishops and priests was that they were serving the interests of Fascism. Within a few weeks the number of priests arrested in the diocese of Lvow alone rose to about 500. Some were shot without trial, the others deported to the salt mines of Dobromil. The Bishop of Stanislaviv was killed.

The following month, three opportunist priests were found in Lvow to organize themselves into the "Committee of Initiative for the Transference of the Greek Ruthenian Church to Orthodoxy." From that time onward, the Ukrainian Catholic Church was subjected to a veritable martyrdom. It was classed as an unauthorized society detrimental to the weal of the state. All members of the Catholic faithful were registered in the Soviet police files as potential "enemies of the people," and the Church was marked for immediate liquidation.

The first object of the campaign was to undermine the confidence of the people in their priests and bishops and to create divisions between the upper and lower clergy. While the bishops were accused of abetting Fascism, the priests were charged with having helped the Nazis to recruit slave labor for Germany and personnel for the German army. The clergy were depicted in the press and over the radio as an "antisocial and unproductive element," parasitically dependent upon the people. Just before the arrest of the bishops, a pamphlet had been issued containing lies and calumnies against the late Metropolitan Sheptytsky. And when Metropolitan Joseph Slipy was arrested, one of the charges made against him was that he had poisoned his predecessor. Bishop Czarnetsky was branded as an "agent of the Vatican." Other bishops were accused of collaboration with the Germans.

Savage and violent attacks were made on the Vatican as the principal enemy of Ukrainians. One of the leading apostates, Kostalnyk, issued a pamphlet with the object of countering the various dogmatic arguments in favor of the Roman Primacy. Catholicism was interpreted as an element in Polish aggression designed to eliminate the Ukrainians as a distinct national and ethnic group. "Away from Rome" became the new slogan. Rome was declared to have become heretical, "a destructive force, proud of its conquest of power, a collaborator with Poland for the destruction of the Ukrainian Rite, the Ukrainian Church, and the Ukrainian people."

The Committee of Initiative organized by the apostate priests Kostalnyk, Malnyk, and Pelvetsky was given official approval by the Soviet government. At its creation in May 1945 it published a manifesto in which it stated that it had been set up by the Soviet government and that this government no longer recognized any Ruthenian religious authority other than the Committee. This revelation of the initiative behind the movement to destroy the Uniat Church was quickly confirmed. An instruction of June 18, signed by Khotchanko, "representative of the Council of People's Commissars for the Affairs of the Russian Orthodox Church on the Council of People's Commissars of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic," gave it the "power" to direct parishes, contact the government, and embrace all the faithful in its "jurisdiction." Those refusing to submit, said the instruction, were to be deported by the government.

Employing highly patriotic language and anti-Polish slogans and arguments, the Committee issued an appeal to the clergy to recognize its authority and submit to its decisions. Its members, accompanied by secret police, made tours through the country in an effort to win support. Priests who were recalcitrant were removed. The few priests and sextons who submitted were given special identification cards. Of 2,700 Ruthenian Catholic priests of the Oriental Rite, only 42 answered the Committee's appeal. Three hundred priests from the diocese of Lvow protested publicly. On July 1 they sent a letter to Moscow demanding the liberation of their bishops and also asking for the right to set up an autonomous administration of their Church in accordance with the terms of Article 124 of the Soviet constitution. At the same time they reaffirmed their complete loyalty to the U.S.S.R. No reply was ever received to this petition. All the signatories were arrested and charged with sabotage and violation of state laws involving security.

In March 1946 a *sobor* or assembly of the "Greek Catholic Church" was convoked by the Committee at Lvow with the object of "reverifying the decisions of the Brest-Litovsk Union of 1596" and of "annulling them and detaching the Ruthenian Church from Rome and uniting it with the Russian Orthodox Church." A handful of lay and ecclesiastical "delegates," without any deliberations or discussion of the dogmatic issues involved but with loud and unanimous tributes to Stalin and the Red armies for having achieved a political union of the Ukraine which would be followed by religious union, repudiated the decisions of Brest-Litovsk and declared that the Ruthenian Church was united with the Communist-led Russian Orthodox Church.

The *sobor* was followed by action to implement its decisions. Every parish, monastery, and religious house was obliged to sign a declaration of adherence. All who refused were arrested as "enemies of the people." But in spite of mass arrests and reprisals against all who voiced opposition, the clergy and people withstood this persecution with amazing fortitude. Only 1,111 "signatures" (these are believed to include sacristans and catechism teachers as well as priests) were secured, and in view of the universal Communist technique of forging signatures, even these can be called into question. An Orthodox bishop was then installed, and the priests who submitted were promoted to the best parishes. The Ruthenian Church was first subordinated to the Metropolitan of Kiev but subsequently to the Patriarchate of Moscow and the Soviet government which, as provided by the Soviet instruction of June 1945, has the right and prerogative to intervene in the affairs of the Church.

Under the constitution of the Soviet Ukraine, as under that of the U.S.S.R., there is complete separation between church and state, and the Church is separated from the school and forbidden to intervene in the education of youth up to the age of eighteen. Religious preaching is permitted only inside the church building, and the church is permitted no activity other than the performance of the religious rites. It is also subjected to the laws regulating private associations and to state control. Income is derived from contributions and donations of the faithful, and expenditure is regulated by special church committees. The only religious press consists of a few organs controlled by the state. All religious societies and organizations have been liquidated, as well as all seminaries. By these means, youth is alienated from the Church, and there has been a sharp decline of the moral, religious, cultural, and social prestige of the priests.

The same processes used to liquidate the Ukrainian Catholic Church in Galicia were applied in Subcarpathian Ruthenia between 1944 and 1948. At the Soviet occupation in 1944, the Church was unmolested, religious activities were permitted, and the property of the Church was not touched. But when the region was incorporated in the Soviet Ukraine, pressure was applied to the Catholic Church to cooperate in the introduction of the Soviet system, collectivization of land, and nationalization of industrial resources. Encouraged by the Soviet authorities, the Orthodox Church adopted an aggressive attitude and began to expropriate the property of the Catholic Church and assign it to Orthodox parishes. Soon all church land and buildings and the property of church organizations had been seized. This was followed by liquidation of the Mukacevo and Uzhorod monastic orders, in spite of the opposition of the people. The popular dissatisfaction was such that many parishes rejected the Orthodox priests imposed on them and reaffirmed their allegiance to the Catholic Church. Bishop Theodore Romzha, popular leader of his people, was assassinated at the instigation of the Communists, and after that the opposition of the faithful was ruthlessly suppressed. Today the organization of the Catholic Church in Carpatho-Ruthenia has been destroyed and imposition of Orthodoxy on the individual members of the faithful continues.

A similar fate has befallen the Ruthenian Catholics in Slovakia, especially in the diocese of Bishop Gojdic. From the spring of 1946 continuous pressure was applied. The terror became greater during 1947 and 1948. The Church was ridiculed in the eyes of the people, and the clergy were depicted as enemies of the state. Most of the Basilian Fathers and nuns were deported to the Soviet Union. A mass trial of Father Huchko and his associates was staged in December 1948. They were charged with participating in an illegal underground movement and given heavy prison terms. In June 1946 the schools and the diocesan and monastery boarding schools were confiscated, the monks and nuns being evicted.

In March 1951 a Ukrainian weekly, *The Way*, published in the United States, summed up as follows the fate of Ukrainian Catholic bishops. Archbishop Andrey Sheptytsky of Lvow died under suspicious circumstances in 1944, just after the Communist occupation. Bishop Gregory Chomyshyn of Stanislaviv died in a concentration camp in 1948. Bishop Josaphat Kocylowsky of Przemisl, imprisoned for a long time, died near Kiev in 1947. Metropolitan Joseph Slipy of Lvow, successor to Archbishop Sheptytsky, is doing forced labor in a coal mine. Auxiliary Bishop Gregory Lakota of Przemisl was doing forced labor in Siberia till his death in 1950. Bishop Niceta Budka, former Ukrainian bishop in Canada, went insane from torture and died in prison. Auxiliary Bishop John Latyshewsky of Stanislaviv is doing forced labor in Siberia. Bishop Nicholas Czarnetsky, Apostolic Visitator for the Ukrainians in Wolhynia, Cholmshchyna, and Pidliasye, is gravely ill as a prisoner in the North Urals. Bishop Theodore Romzha of Mukacevo died in 1947 of injuries suffered in a Red Army tank "accident." Bishop John Shimrak of Krizevci was murdered in prison in 1947. Bishop Paul Gojdic of Presov was sentenced to life imprisonment in January 1951. Bishop Basil Hopkow, his auxiliary, is in prison without trial. Monsignor Peter Verhun, Apostolic Visitator for the Ukrainians in Germany, has disappeared, reportedly kidnapped by the Communists.

The final legal action to end the Catholic Church of the 150,000 Ruthenian Uniats in Slovakia has not, however, yet been taken.*

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* Practically speaking, however, these Ruthenian Uniats in Slovakia are no

But they are the sole survivors as a distinct religious body of the five million Ruthenian Uniats who lived in Poland, Czechoslovakia, and Rumania before the westward expansion of the Soviet Union. For all the others their church has been officially liquidated, the hierarchy killed or imprisoned, and the diocesan and monastic clergy killed, dispersed, or deported. The Vatican radio reported in July 1950 that 3,600 priests had been killed or jailed, 1,000 churches closed, and nine religious orders dissolved.

Nevertheless, the faithful cling tenaciously to their religious beliefs and loyalties. And the Communists continue the war against them with the object of destroying these beliefs and indoctrinating a new generation with their own outlook. In Galicia the entire population, especially the youth, are accused of having contact with Fascism and Nazism, of having collaborated with the enemies of the Soviet Union, or of belonging to the underground anti-Soviet movement known as the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA). Resistance to the Orthodox Church is interpreted as a political crime and ruthlessly suppressed by the police and troops. It is believed that the Catholic Church of the Oriental Rite has organized an underground committee to rule it, but the mass of the people believe that under present circumstances open opposition is hopeless, and they profess an indifference to religion in the expectation that they can conserve their strength and identity until the hour of liberation strikes. This lesson they learned during the first Soviet occupation of 1939–1941. In Carpatho-Ukraine, where the people first came under Soviet dominion in 1944, they tried to offer active resistance to Orthodoxy, but they were soon made to realize by the violence of the Soviet reaction that by their own efforts they could not hope to succeed. They have been beaten into helplessness and must wait on international developments to save them from extinction and enable them once again to profess their beliefs and worship God according to their conscience. The Orthodox population of the Ukraine is subject to the same vexatious restrictions as are the Orthodox in other parts of the U.S.S.R. See page 11.

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better off than their coreligionists elsewhere. And it may be that the Czechoslovak Communists regard the action described on page 51 as constituting their legal destruction. Their subsequent acts suggest such is the case.

4. RUMANIA

FROM the dawn of history the peoples of Central Europe have done their trading along the Danube and made their settlements on the plains through which it flows in many channels to the Black Sea. Here the Romans left the stamp of language and culture on fierce Dacian tribes who finally not only accepted Trajan as their emperor but renamed themselves Rumanians, followers of Rome.

The Rumanians living south of the Carpathians received Christianity from Constantinople and followed Constantinople into schism. Surrounded by peoples speaking Slav languages and cut off by the religious divisions from the west, their Latin language became mixed with Slavonic elements and their church books were written in Old Slavonic like those of their neighbors.

For hundreds of years after Constantinople fell to the Turks they fought valiantly against the common enemy of Europe. This struggle came to an end for them only 73 years ago in 1878, after the Congress of Berlin, when modern Rumania became a completely independent political unit. Yet even this historic event did not end their problems, for the Turkish wars had upset the balance of the Balkans. That political experience is uppermost in the minds of all peoples of southeastern Europe. They have felt the secondary effects of protracted wars and protracted occupation, and they know from their experience under the Turks what long-term evils will result from Soviet occupation.

In a determined effort to regain a spiritual and cultural balance, free Rumania set out during the latter part of the nineteenth century to rebuild its heritage. Latin became important in the curriculum, and concerted efforts were made to replace Slav by Latin words in the language. Evidence of this trend is provided by the popular Christian names drawn from the Latin past: Octavian, Trajan, Brutus. Even the Turkish and Levantine elements, like the great Levantine writer Panait Istrati and poets like Vasili Alexander and Eminescu, turned deliberately to the west, particularly to Paris.

The historic experience and geographic position of Rumania are reflected in considerable racial minorities, a great variety of religious affiliations, and an instability of political boundaries. A majority of those of Rumanian race lived in the Old Kingdom, long ruled by the Sultans, while most of the others lived in the provinces of Transylvania and the Banat, which for centuries were united with Hungary or Austria, and which were joined to the Old Kingdom after the first world war. By the Vienna Award of 1940 Rumania lost the northern half of Transylvania to Hungary but regained it in 1945, while during and after the second world war she lost Bessarabia and Northern Bucovina to Soviet Russia, and Southern Dobrudja to Bulgaria. The 1930 population of these three last-named areas was 3,765,746, belonging almost entirely to the Orthodox Church. Most of the 185,486 Moslems recorded in 1930 were of Turkish origin and were resettled by the Turkish government in Anatolia between 1930 and 1939.

The Old Kingdom during the centuries of Turkish rule had many of its distinctively European and Christian institutions destroyed, but in Transylvania there survive medieval monuments, castles, fortresses, and churches. This part of the country breathes history and Christianity. Close to the mountains there is a vigorous Orthodox community, but it is also the land of Prince Gabor Bethlen, an ally of Gustavus Adolphus in the Thirty Years' War, a stronghold of Protestantism whose leaders were traditionally educated in Germany, Holland, and England. This land has an interesting Unitarian past, also, being the seat of the most important Unitarian bishop in the world. Following the unique mosaic of distinct religions, it includes a strange sect of Sabbathists, as well as Armenian Christians who always distinguished themselves by their fervent love of liberty.

For centuries the Rumanians, Hungarians, and German Saxons lived together in almost uninterrupted accord in Transylvania. Often they had to fight together to protect their liberties, at times they had to buy them, but they never accepted subjection. It was a land of tolerance, particularly of religious tolerance, once the brief bitter battles of the Reformation period ended in stalemate. As in the United States, respect for the religious convictions of others was early recognized as necessary to civic survival and became second nature. Transylvania gave the Danubian countries their greatest leader against the Turks, Janos Hunyadi, who became Regent of Hungary and whose son became King of Hungary under the name of Matthias Corvinus. Until five years ago Hunyadi was glorified as a national hero of both Rumania and Hungary, and his spirit still lives in both peoples, even though today he is a war criminal in the eyes of the Communists, a part of the shameful past that has to be uprooted to make way for the peace of death which is their goal.

The Uniats or Catholics of the Oriental Rite in communion with Rome date back to 1698, when a plenary synod solemnly proclaimed reunion of the Rumanian Church of Transylvania. The movement did not spread to the rest of Rumania, which remained predominantly Orthodox. The Uniat hierarchy was organized in 1853, and an archdiocese and four dioceses for Rumanian Catholics of the Oriental Rite were set up in 1930 under the concordat of 1927.

Article 23 of the Rumanian constitution of March 1923 assured complete freedom of religion. A law of April 1928, implementing the general terms of the constitution, set out in detail the safeguards for the religious rights of individuals and of the various denominations. Relations of the Orthodox Church with the state were governed by a law of May 1925. These laws granted the denominations a religious, cultural, financial, and organizational autonomy. Religious education was assured by a law of December 1925. After the law giving a position of primacy to the Orthodox Church had been approved by Parliament, a concordat was made with the Vatican in May 1927 and ratified in 1929. It defined in great detail the statutes of the Catholic Church in its Latin and Oriental rites in Rumania, and its relations with the state. Oriental Rite Catholics in Rumania belonged in part to the Greek (Old Slavonic) and in part to the Armenian branch.

During the war, German troops occupied Rumania. The Nazis adopted the same generally hostile attitude toward religion as in other territories, and in particular they persecuted the Jews, eliminating half of the country's 850,000 Jews. A previously existing pseudomystical movement known as the Iron Guard cooperated with the Nazis in this disruptive work. Its violent and terroristic activities help to demoralize the Orthodox Church itself and made it easier for the Communists later to dominate Orthodoxy and use it as a tool.

From August 1944 to March 1945 Rumania was occupied by the Russians, but the party system continued and the government tried to conduct affairs in accordance with the law and the recognized practice of civilized states. The occupying Russians censored the press, suppressed numerous newspapers and periodicals, and otherwise imposed their arbitrary will. They made no major move to destroy religion.

However, in February 1945 the then Soviet Foreign Minister, Andrei Vishinsky, who was directing the Communist penetration of Rumania, presented an ultimatum that a Communist government be installed. The Russians began immediately to interfere in domestic policy. They called on the King to dismiss Radescu and form a coalition government in which the Communists would hold the principal ministries, including the Ministry of the Interior which controls the police. This would enable them to bore from within and, under the guise of democratic forms, prepare the way for the take-over. When this was done, the Communists immediately began a reign of terror to eliminate political opposition. Arbitrary censorship of the press was intensified. Restrictions on newsprint prevented or limited newspaper circulation.

During the election campaign which followed the Communist putsch, the people were terrorized into voting for the Communist list of candidates. But in spite of these measures they expressed their will by giving an overwhelming majority of votes to the National Peasant and National Liberal candidates. A statement of the Rumanian National Committee, consisting of leaders of the Rumanian National Peasant, National Liberal, and Independent Socialist Parties, declares that more than 90 percent of the electorate voted for the anti-Communist parties. United States and

British official notes of protest confirmed that the elections were rigged and the results falsified. Nevertheless, backed by the occupying Soviet armies, the Communist administrators persisted, and only two opposition candidates were declared elected.

The Communists who have since ruled Rumania have little in common with the spirit of the people. The only survivor from the old popular parties is Petru Groza, former lawyer and member of Parliament, who is a mere tool and mouthpiece of the Party. Of the elements which were formerly significant, the only ones cordially welcomed by the Communists were ex-members of the Iron Guard. This pseudomystical political movement, started by Zelea Codreanu, was not merely a rightist movement but was almost a forerunner of Nazism, gaining strength and support as a protest against liberalism, the poverty of the people, and their illiteracy. Its backers were noted for their visionary fanaticism and they glorified the use of naked force. The Communists realized that they could mold such people to their ends, whereas they had to crush the true democrats and liquidate their organizations.

Ana Pauker is typical of the Communist leaders. Her very physical appearance reveals the spirit of hatred and terror she embodies. She was almost a stranger to Rumania, having passed many years in Moscow as the wife of a man who had been a Communist from the early days. In a country which venerates the traditional wife and mother as typical of the highest things in society, Ana Pauker represents the negation of the virtues cherished by Rumanians. Not even the knitters of the French Revolution so far forgot the qualities of womanhood. At a mass meeting in Bucharest for the Stockholm peace appeal, this first lady of Rumania proclaimed her gospel. "Only hatred," she yelled, "only hatred can lead us to peace." Her father, faithful to the religion of his ancestors, emigrated to Israel and repudiated his daughter.

For a time the Communists avoided direct action against the religious denominations, but gradually they began to exert pressure on the Catholics. By March 1948, 92 priests had been arrested, and 51 of these were still in prison in October 1948. In one diocese alone, 32 priests were arrested between May 1947 and January 1949. In the fall of 1946 an amendment was decreed to the law of

1928. This provided that no clergyman could exercise his office without official authorization granted on the recommendation of the Ministry of Religious Affairs. All the bishops had to take an oath of allegiance to the constitution. In 1946, also, the government called upon the Vatican to withdraw Nuncio Cassulo. The Pope nominated as his successor Bishop Gerald Patrick O'Hara of the United States.

Administrative action was gradually taken against the personnel and property of the Catholic Church. Many priests were arrested, including the French Ascensionist monks, who conducted an Institute for Byzantine Studies in Bucharest. The seminary of Timisoara had been requisitioned for the medical school of the University of Timisoara, but half of it was restored after representations made by the Catholic authorities. The restoration, however, was not for long. In October 1947 the government again requisitioned the buildings that had been returned, in spite of the strong protests of the Catholics. In March 1948 many priests were declared dismissed and deprived of their livings.

The Catholic press was gradually eliminated. By April 1948 the only surviving publication was the *Children's Paradise,* issued monthly by the Bucharest Jesuits, and the censorship had cut it from 24 pages to 16. It was eliminated in May.

The government announced in July 1948 that "in order to accomplish the constitutional provisions relating to the untrammeled liberty of religion" the concordat was abrogated and of no effect as of that date. From the viewpoint of international law, this argument has no validity; and, besides, the concordat provided a six-months' notice on either side of intention to denounce.

The concordat had ensured full freedom of action, initiative, and leadership, within the framework of the law and in harmony with the appropriate government departments, to the Catholic Church in its Oriental and Latin branches in relation to its organization and functioning, propagation of its teachings, operation of seminaries, maintenance of welfare organizations, foundations, hospitals, and convents. Its denunciation opened the way for the campaign which had already been prepared in detail to eliminate the Catholic Church of the Oriental Rite and to seize all the educational, social, and humanitarian foundations of the Latin Church.

A violent press campaign against the Vatican started immediately. Exceptionally vulgar caricatures appeared in the newspapers. The Pope was shown with an American flag on his tiara bowing down and kissing the hand of Secretary of State Marshall. Orthodox Patriarch Justinian (who was a member of the Communist Party when he became Patriarch in May 1948) declared that the Vatican's political interests were alien to the very spirit of Christianity, and that his Church hailed with joy the abrogation of the concordat. At Christmas 1948 Justinian described the Pope as the head of the forces of hatred and evil.

These statements were patently those of a Communist stooge. Justinian is no more representative of Rumanian Orthodoxy, whose leaders are in exile, then is Alexei of that of Russia. The masses of the Rumanian Orthodox faithful, suffering in enforced silence, have nothing to do with this perversion of their faith.

In November 1948 the government abrogated the decree issued in 1945 granting safeguards to the Hungarian and German minorities. Their separate schools had already been taken away when all schools were nationalized in August 1948.* Now the government set out to destroy the other organizations of both the Catholic and the Protestant sections of these minorities. The Hungarian Catholics of Transylvania had set up under an agreement reached with the government in 1932 a separate organization for their financial affairs, and the concordat had confirmed the arrangement. The government tried to infiltrate this organization by urging a "more democratic" leadership. But the Bishops of Jassy and Alba-Julia threatened to excommunicate any of the faithful who should take action without permission of their bishop, and the meetings planned by the government were boycotted. That averted the threat for the moment, but in February 1949 a new decree was issued transferring the control of all property and funds of religious bodies to the state. This completed the abolition of the minority status of Hungarians and Germans.

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* Illustrative of the subsequent abuse by the Communists of their monopoly of education, which they have used to indoctrinate all children with Marxist materialism, is the report of March 1951 that Red officials have introduced a new greeting in the schools. Children must now greet their teacher each morning with the words: "There is no God!" The teacher replies: "And there never has been one!"

Warnings were given at the time of the visit in May 1947 of the Orthodox Patriarch to Moscow, and again at the promulgation of the new constitution in April 1948 and at the election of a new Orthodox Patriarch in May 1948, that there was no place in the new Rumania for Oriental Catholics professing allegiance to Rome. And in the second half of 1948 the Communist authorities began to concentrate their attacks specifically on Catholic priests of the Oriental Rite to force them to join the Orthodox Church.

Since 1698 the Catholic Church of the Oriental Rite had played a great part in the cultural, political, and religious development of the Rumanians, providing important contacts with the culture of western Europe. In 1938 it had 1,725 churches, 1,594 priests, 34 canons, 75 prelates, and more than a million and a half members. Since their ritual and customs are closer to those of the Orthodox Church than are the ritual and customs of Latin Catholics, the Communists set out to force them to pass over en masse to Orthodoxy, as they have done in all the countries in which groups of Catholics of the Oriental Rite exist. And since the Communists had first taken steps to make the Orthodox Church itself, which traditionally has been subject to state interference and dictation, amenable to whatever directions they might give, they were able to have the first overt move come from the Orthodox leaders.

An appeal to Catholics of the Oriental Rite to abandon their allegiance to the Vatican and join the Orthodox Church was issued on May 15, 1948. The day chosen was the centenary of the Field of Liberation, when in 1848 the Rumanians under Orthodox Bishop Saguna and Bishop Lemeny of the Catholic Oriental Rite had demanded recognition of their rights as a nation. "Today," said the appeal, couched in familiar Communist jargon, "when the Rumanian People's Republic guarantees equal rights, political, cultural, and religious, to all, no matter what their religion or race, to persist in the spiritual disunity which stemmed from the grave jeopardy in which the Rumanians of Transylvania found themselves in 1700 means to desert the united front of the new destinies which our working people are creating for themselves as the dawn of a new future approaches."

The Catholic bishops of the Oriental Rite were prevented from answering this and similar appeals, which were given the widest publicity through all the organs of public opinion, press, and radio. The administration and the police prohibited circulars and pastoral letters dealing with the subject. The government forbade the printing of a collective pastoral. A memorandum of the Catholic bishops of the Oriental Rite to Premier Petru Groza on October 7, 1948, lists the various acts of the administration designed to influence the situation and to interfere in the purely religious affairs of the Church, even to the extent of attempting to replace church personnel with members of parties belonging to the government bloc, and to eliminate priests from the administration of the Church's parish properties. Meanwhile, Orthodox prelates were given full freedom to propagate the viewpoint which the Communists favored.

Leaders of the Oriental Rite Catholics used the only means left to them, sermons and canonical visits, to reply to this one-sided propaganda. Particularly active was Bishop Ion Suciu, Apostolic Administrator of the Archdiocese of Fagaras and Alba-Julia. A government decree of September 3, 1948, suspended him from office. He was arrested, released, then rearrested, and is still in prison. State officials distributed so-called "delegations" to the Catholic clergy of the Oriental Rite and called on them to sign these delegations in blank. The purpose of the documents was to designate two churchmen from each administrative district to represent the clergy of that district at a meeting at Cluj on October 1, 1948, to arrange "the return of the Greek Catholic Church to the Orthodox Church." Promises of material advantages were made by the authorities to get signatures, and when these were of no avail, they were followed up by threats and mass arrests. The Apostolic Nuncio said in a note handed to the Foreign Minister on October 2: "Priests were in many instances brought to the office of the local prefect by force. In the barracks of the local security police they were intimidated, threatened with imprisonment, with separation from their families, with deportation, and even with death. Those who resisted the initial acts of violence were thrown into underground cells, ill-treated, subjected to exhausting questioning, and finally set free only when, broken down by the inhuman treatment of their jailers, they agreed to sign."

The memorandum of the Catholic bishops of the Oriental Rite already quoted states that "the immediate agents of the campaign . . . did not scruple to confess that this is an action by the government for the abolition of the Rumanian Catholic Church of the Oriental Rite."

An important part of the government's preparation for destroying this Church was the promulgation in August 1948 of the Regime of Cults. Proclaiming freedom of conscience and of religious profession, this law drastically curtailed the manifestation of their cults by the various denominations, striking at their ecclesiastical organization and subjecting them to rigorous administrative and police control. All denominations, "in order to organize themselves and to function, must have the previous recognition of the Presidium of the Grand National Assembly." Even after recognition had been granted, it might again be withdrawn by the same authority in "certain well-motivated cases."

Denominations were permitted only one diocese for every 750,000 members. Seminaries were abolished, and in their stead the Orthodox Church was allowed to maintain two theological institutes of university rank. The Catholics and Protestants were allowed one such institute each. Only former students of government schools were to be allowed to enter these theological faculties. All activities of every denomination were declared subject to a thorough administrative control reaching from inscriptions, symbols, seals, and stamps, ritual books and pastoral letters, to congresses and meetings of prelates. All relations between Rumanian religious denominations and foreign countries were forbidden with the exception of relations of a "strictly religious nature," and such ties would henceforth come under the "control and approval" of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The Education Minister might approve in individual cases the maintenance of religious-philosophical contacts with foreign countries, but even in such cases the contacts could be carried on only through the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

These provisions were completely at variance with the concordat of 1927, which had guaranteed complete freedom of all communications between the dioceses, clergy, and Catholic faithful and the Vatican. Assistance and gifts received from abroad by the religious denominations, and those which they might send abroad, were subjected to state control. They might hold local meetings only with the previous permission of the local authorities, and any meetings of wider than local scope required the approval of the Education Minister. The Education Minister was further authorized to invalidate any decision of any religious body. He was also given control over church budgets. If the government considered that any action of any church was against the people's democracy, it might stop any subsidies it might have agreed to pay that church. A priest or clergyman considered antidemocratic likewise lost his salary. The law abolished chaplaincies in the armed forces. The new oath of allegiance prescribed for all priests read: "I swear that I will remain faithful to the Rumanian people and that I will defend the Rumanian people's republic against internal and external enemies."

Although the Catholic bishops regarded this law as a violation of their rights as set out in the concordat of 1927, they made every effort to comply in order that the Church might function legally. But every draft of statutes proposed by them with the approval of the Holy See was rejected by the government. The Catholics of the Latin Rite also protested very strongly against the reduction of the number of Latin Rite dioceses, in violation of the concordat, from five to two. At the request of Bishop Aaron Marton of Alba-Julia and Bishop Anthony Durcovici of Jassi, most of the clergy of the Latin Rite renounced their salaries as a demonstration to the world that the Church's opposition to the Communists was based not on material considerations. This action stunned the government and it took them eight or nine months to find a way to retaliate.

Important dispositions of the law, which it will be seen in a moment were designed specifically to undermine the Catholic Church of the Oriental Rite, govern the passage from one faith to another. If 10 per cent of a community changed to another denomination, they carried with them a proportionate part of the patrimony. If a simple majority passed, it took the local buildings and other annexed possessions and the church. If three quarters passed, they took the entire local property. All problems arising out of the passing of members from one denomination to another were to be "controlled and solved by the local people's courts." If a denomination disappeared entirely or lost state recognition, all its property went to the state.

Armed with the plenipotentiary powers which this totalitarian law gave them, the state authorities worked up the campaign of terrorism against the Catholic bishops and priests of the Oriental Rite to a climax during the five days before the meeting they had called at Cluj was due to open on October 1, 1948. Bishop Suciu was arrested at night and held for 48 hours in a cellar to keep him from getting in touch with his clergy and people. Canon Tamaian of Oradea and his colleagues, Berbul and Ghilea, were tortured, questioned under strong lights, confined in underground cells, and burnt with electrical apparatus, in an effort to induce them to sign. Bishop Iuliu Hossu of Cluj was held incommunicado in his home. Thirty priests and laymen who came to visit him, not knowing he was being held, were imprisoned. Similar measures were taken against delegates to the congress who showed indications that they would not agree to amalgamation.

The number of Catholic priests of the Oriental Rite who attended the Cluj congress and the number of priests alleged to have signed the "delegations" is given variously in the articles signed by the delegates and in the official texts of the congress, reflecting the fraud used in getting signatures and in reporting the occurrences. At the opening session 37 Catholic priests of the Oriental Rite attended. Canon Juga, a priest of the Cluj diocese who was on bad terms with his bishop and who had given the government to understand that he would gladly head a schismatic movement, did not turn up, perhaps because of Bishop Hossu's excommunication of any priest who took part. Most of those present, if not all, were under the impression that the meeting would merely "discuss" union with the Orthodox Church. They quickly learned there was to be merely a semblance of discussion. A document prepared beforehand in the Ministry of Cults, severing allegiance with the Holy See and joining the Orthodox Church, was presented to them for signature. Under the supervision of the police, who were there to see that nobody left, they signed as "delegates" for the clergy of the Oriental Rite. How many priests had actually signed the "delegations" (documents to secure signatures for which the government had used police pressure in advance of the meeting) has never been determined, but the figure of 425 has been mentioned. There were than about 2,340 Catholic priests of the Oriental Rite in Rumania. The 37 "delegates" were sent to Bucharest to inform the government and Patriarch Justinian of the signing of the document. One escaped from the train en route. Eyewitnesses testified that the other 36 presented for the most part a sorry spectacle, looking miserably unhappy, dejected, and ashamed, with the exception of one priest who was a fanatic.

The already-mentioned note of October 2 to the Foreign Minister from the Papal Nuncio protested against the "carefully prepared action, cleverly coordinated . . . against the Catholic Church of the Oriental Rite." After invoking the argument of the international obligations undertaken by Rumania in the Peace Treaty and the guarantees of the constitution and of the Law of Cults, the note declared that the action was taken not merely by certain irresponsible elements but by the civil authorities themselves. The Papal Nunciature "on behalf of the Holy See and in the name of the entire Christian world protests with all the energy demanded by the circumstances against such procedures, unworthy of a civilized state."

The government replied with even more than its customary violence, describing the Nuncio's protest as "an interference in the domestic affairs of the Rumanian People's Republic and an attempt to attack freedom of religion." It rejected "the manifest calumnies contained in this note" and cited it as "a further proof of the antagonistic attitude of the Nunciature to the People's Republic." The Catholic bishops of the Oriental Rite for their part excommunicated the few churchmen who had abandoned their church and protested in the already-mentioned memorandum to Premier Petru Groza against the persecution of their church.

October 11 was fixed by Communist Patriarch Justinian for "the reintegration of the Rumanian Church of Transylvania." The Patriarch in his sermon, which had been revised in advance by the government censors, made a violent attack on the Vatican. Meanwhile, the committee appointed by the congress of Cluj initiated a campaign of violence against the clerics who remained loyal. Mass arrests started with the seizure of Bishop Suciu on October 27. The next day about 700 Catholic priests of the Oriental Rite were arrested and their churches turned over to the Orthodox authorities. All the Catholic bishops of the Oriental Rite and many prelates were arrested. Even the Bishop of Oradea, though he was an old man of 74 and was ill at the time, was not spared. Communities of nuns and monks were expelled from their convents with unprecedented barbarity. The Ministry of Cults announced that Catholic priests of the Oriental Rite would receive their salaries immediately on joining the Orthodox Church. The press published lists of priests who had allegedly passed to Orthodoxy, with the object of confusing those who remained faithful and making it appear that their cause was lost.

But priests and faithful alike resisted. Public demonstrations were held in defiance of the authorities. In Cluj itself thousands of people gathered on October 31 to voice their fidelity to the Pope and their bishops. The government, however, was in no mood to heed the people's expression of their will. The Ministry of Cults issued an amending decree which provided that only heads of families would be counted in order to determine the number of those changing their religion. This facilitated the task of forging signatures or extorting them under duress, so that the forms of the law regarding the transfer of the patrimony of the Church could be observed.

Cathedrals and churches in the principal centers were first closed, then handed over to the Orthodox authorities. All Catholic bishops of the Oriental Rite were confined under guard in monasteries. By October 29, at the latest, all were under arrest.

One of them, Bishop Basil Aftenie, Auxiliary Bishop of Fagaras and Alba-Julia, later (about May 9, 1950) died under mysterious circumstances in a Bucharest prison. He was buried, again under mysterious circumstances, on May 10.

A decree of December 1, 1948, formally liquidated the Church, transferring parish buildings and ancillary edifices to the Orthodox Church and all other property to the state. This measure was taken not on the basis of a "return" of the parishes to the Orthodox Church but by withdrawal of state recognition as provided in the Law of Cults. Notwithstanding this official liquidation, many of the Catholic priests and faithful of the Oriental Rite remain true to their consciences. The Minister of Cults complained on December 5, 1948, that the response to the appeal of the Orthodox Church had been most disappointing. A report of May 1949 put at 600 the number of Uniat priests then in jail for refusal to apostatize.

As is already apparent, the Orthodox Church was chosen for preferential treatment by the Communist bosses of Rumania. But the benefits it received were paid for by the acceptance of a condition of servitude under the all-controlling Communist state. The first step was a purging of the Orthodox Church itself to ensure that it would be a facile tool. As the Communist paper *Universul* noted on August 28, 1948: "The guidance of the country's destinies having been taken into the hands of the working class and of democratic organizations, special attention is being given to the renewal of the high cadres of the (Orthodox) Church. This was evidenced by the elections which took place in November 1947, when three hierarchs of the people entered the Synod. This concern of the working class for the destinies of the Church culminated on May 24, 1948, when the new Patriarch of the Rumanian people's Republic was elected in the person of His Beatitude Justinian."

Justinian did not delay in showing where he stood. At his installation in June 1948 he alluded to the concordat "imposed on our people by the Pope of Rome with the connivance of the former regime, whereby the popish see was awarded greater rights than our own Church." This was but following the line indicated by Stanciu Stoian, Minister of Cults, who had declared at Justinian's election that world reactionary forces were trying to make especial use of two religious instruments, the Roman Catholic Church and the Protestant Ecumenical Movement; that the Rumanian people could not remain indifferent to actions of the Vatican which purported to interfere with and pass judgment on their "democratic" regime, and that they could not stand aside when the so-called Ecumenical Movement sought to add (Greek) Orthodoxy to the other weapons of Anglo-Saxon imperialism.

The actual facts were that while the constitution of 1923 had assured freedom of religion, it had given a position of privilege as a quasi-state religion to the Orthodox Church, while the second place was given to the Catholic Church of the Oriental Rite, followed by Latin Catholics, Protestants, and Jews. The concordat had not altered the provisions of the constitution. But Justinian, who was a member of the Communist Party when he became Patriarch, was little concerned with facts. He was prepared to use all the Communist methods and techniques to achieve the party aim. "Today more than ever the political and religious life of our people constitutes a solid unity," he declared when he received his insignia of office from the National Assembly. "The Rumanian National Orthodox Church and the Rumanian democratic state are tied together indissolubly because the faithful members of our church are citizens of our state, and at the same time the leaders of the Rumanian people's republic are the protectors of our church."

On the same occasion he said he would do all in his power to bring back the "schismatic" Catholics of the Oriental Rite into the unity of Rumanian Orthodoxy, and he asked the assistance of the National Assembly to achieve this object. As has already been seen, the Assembly cooperated generously with the Law of Cults. Justinian immediately adopted a policy of close cooperation with the Moscow Patriarchate, and he took part in the conferences of the Moscow Synod in July 1948. It is believed that the detailed plan for the liquidation of the Rumanian Catholic Church of the Oriental Rite was worked out at the Synod. After his return, a vigorous campaign was begun to indoctrinate all the leaders of the Orthodox Church in Rumania with Communist principles. The campaign was directed by a Russian official named Kisinevsky sent by Moscow to the Rumanian Ministry of Education and Cult. Justinian published three new catechisms omitting all reference to the existence of God, the creation of man, original sin, the redemption, grace, and eternal life. It mentioned Christ only as a human being, a philosopher, and the greatest Communist.

In February 1949, at the reopening of the Orthodox theological faculty of Bucharest University, the Communist newspaper *Universul,* chief government organ, reported Deacon Nicolaseas, Head of the Faculty, as saying that in the new religious education the accent is not on knowledge but on training in Christian living. The priests in future, he declared, must conform to the Socialist spirit of the new Rumanian people's democracy. All Orthodox priests would have to take reorientation courses at the theological faculty, including a course designed to modify theology and revelation to bring them into line with the theories of Marxism-Leninism.

Early in 1951 the Rumanian Communists made an attempt to export their perverted form of Orthodoxy. They sent a new metropolitan to the United States with orders to infiltrate the Orthodox Church in this country. He was, however, recognized as an emissary of Moscow and rejected by the Rumanians here.

The small Lutheran community has fared no better than the other denominations. Of 350,000 Lutherans who lived in Rumania in 1939, only 140,000 remained in October 1950. Many were killed during the war and many were deported to Russia. Of those deported, 25 percent had died, 50 percent were still in slave-labor camps in Russia, and 25 percent had been returned to Rumania as unfit for further work. The activities of the Lutheran Church had been severely restricted. Its schools and some of its other properties had been seized. Church members had been reduced to such poverty that they were no longer able to support the churches or carry on social and charitable activities. The Calvinists are mostly members of the Hungarian minority of Transylvania. Their situation is similar to that of the Calvinists of Hungary. See page 122.

The attitude of the Communist Party toward the Jews was the same as its attitude to other denominations or groups which might constitute a threat to its totalitarian goals if allowed to maintain their independence of thought and action. Already in 1945 efforts were made to infiltrate the two principal Jewish organizations, the Jewish Union of Rumania (mainly concerned with representing the political interests of Jews) and the Union of Jewish Communities (whose activity was principally in the field of social assistance). Dr. Filderman, president of both these bodies, was first forced to resign and subsequently – in 1948 – to flee abroad. And in 1946 the Communists set up a new Jewish political organization under their own control, the so-called Democratic Jewish Committee.

When the Jews resisted the efforts of the Communists to become their leaders and spokesmen, the campaign was intensified. Pro-Communist Jews in the Jewish organizations set out to provoke incidents which would enable the authorities to intervene. *Unirea,* organ "for struggle and culture" of the Communist-led Democratic Jewish Committee, subjected the Jewish communities to violent attacks, singling out in particular the Zionist organizations. Police investigations and arrests followed. The Communist factions in Jewish organizations used force to get control of local groups and buildings, while the Communist-controlled press represented each incident as part of the struggle of the people against "bourgeois nationalism" and "world reaction." A statement of December 1948 said: "Zionism of all shades is a nationalist, reactionary political trend of the Jewish bourgeoisie, which seeks to isolate the Jewish working people from the peoples in whose midst they live, to prevent them from fighting in the ranks of the progressive forces against capitalism and against their own bourgeoisie."

A few days later, the 40-year-old Central Zionist Committee met and decided it had no choice other than to dissolve all Zionist organizations in Rumania. When this decision became known, a mass attempt was made by the Jews to leave Rumania, because they realized there was no longer any hope of a peaceful normal life for them there. This opinion was confirmed by the now-triumphant Communist-led Democratic Jewish Committee which met in January at Bucharest to be told by deputy B. Feldman: "The main task at present is the merciless fight against bourgeois Jewish nationalism. This political struggle must be carried on without the slightest compromise and must result in the liquidation of Zion nationalism in Jewish affairs." A purge of the Committee itself followed to eliminate all but the most violent of the Communist Jews from its leadership.

In March, the Ministry of the Interior issued a warning that the dissolved Zionist organizations were tools of imperialism, that they must cease any kind of activity, and that the former leaders must use their influence with the members to cease all demonstrations and all Zionist activities, stating at the same time that a decree would shortly be issued to ban such activities and subject them to the same punishment as Fascist movements. In the same month the authorities dissolved the agencies in Rumania of the American Joint Distribution Committee, of the Children's Welfare (a Jewish organization financed by the Joint Distribution Committee), and of the Organization for the Reeducation of Youth which operated schools and youth colonies for Jews in Bucharest and the provinces. Mass arrests of Jews opposed to Communist policies were carried out simultaneously. Many of those arrested were citizens of Israel and included seven delegates of the World Zionist Organization. It was decided not to permit the thousands of Jews who had asked permission to migrate to Israel to do so. Some exceptions were made, but generally only for Communist or pro-Communist Jews who could be depended on to act in Israel as propaganda agents of the Cominform. In spite of protests and representations made in Bucharest and Moscow by the Israeli government, this situation continues. Of the 350,000 to 400,000 Jews in Rumania when the Communists seized power (out of a prewar total of 850,000), only 30,000 had succeeded in escaping by March 1950. According to a report by Nathan Chanin, President of the American Jewish Labor Committee, made to the Committee at Atlantic City, New Jersey, in February 1951, the Communists have exiled 35,000 Rumanian Jews to Siberia. He said that hundreds of thousands of Rumanian Jews had joined the Communist Party in the hope that thereby they might escape persecution, but in the first three months of 1950 alone some 68,000 of these were purged, and by early 1951 very few Rumanian Jews remained within the Party ranks. The Rumanian government, he said, was following the Soviet government in its hostility toward Israel and was representing Zionism as a cloak for British and American imperialism. It would neither permit the Jews to emigrate nor allow them to lead their own life in Rumania. Its antisemitic policy pursued the same objects as that of the Soviets, the physical and spiritual destruction of Jewry. As in the Soviet Union, so in Rumania, all Jewish newspapers, schools, and synagogues had been closed during 1949 and 1950. Mr. Chanin's report is confirmed from other sources, according to which hundreds of Zionists were, in October 1950, being held in jail near the Soviet border. Representations in their behalf by the Israeli legation were rejected on the ground that their arrest was a purely internal matter. Meanwhile, the Rumanian radio increased the violence of its attacks on Zionism and on the Israeli government.

By-laws promulgated in 1949 under the 1948 Regime of Cults law merged all Jewish communities in each town into one organization and forbade all rabbis other than the designated rabbis of these unified communities to perform religious rites. Activities under Communist leadership were permitted to continue. Religious life was restricted in many ways. During Passover 1949 many aged Jews went hungry because Passover food was given only to those with working cards issued by the nationalized enterprises. Since the state had become practically the sole employer, Orthodox Jews were unable to find work where they could observe the Sabbath. Rabbi Yehoshua Aaron Gross, who prepared lists of Orthodox Jews to petition the government to make arrangements that would allow observance of the Sabbath, was arrested and charged with subversive activities. Taxes were imposed on religious rituals and ceremonies, such as weddings and circumcisions. The chief rabbi of Timisoara was arrested for ending a sermon with the traditional prayer: ". . . and may the Redeemer come unto Zion." He died some days after his release. An antireligious organization of Jews was formed to combat religious observances and disrupt services in the synagogues.

In April 1949 the Communists liquidated 256 Jewish charity institutions, including orphanages, children's homes, and nineteen hospitals. By August of that year all Jewish educational institutions, including 69 elementary and 23 high schools, with a student body of 13,000 and 1,000 teachers, had been taken over. Opposition to the liquidation of the Jewish language was penalized as an act of sabotage against the state. The true attitude of the Communists to the Jews is shown by an incident recounted by Hal Lehrman in his *Russia's Europe.* Charged with responsibility for the killing of 60,000 Rumanian Jews under the Nazis, Colonel Isopescu said at his trial: "I did not kill 60,000 Jews. I killed only 16,000." His sentence was mitigated and finally commuted. The present situation is summed up in the already-mentioned memorial of the U.S. Jewish Labor Committee submitted to the United Nations in March 1951. "The economic plight of the Jews in Rumania is most difficult, with 80 per cent of them not being self-sustaining. Most of them are selling whatever possessions they have left in order to eke out a miserable existence. . . . The dream of Russian Jewry today is to leave their country of birth. . . . Immigration to Israel is considered by the government as an 'antinational' act. . . . Jewish communal life in Rumania is on the brink of spiritual and material extinction."

While the campaign against Catholics of the Oriental Rite was in full swing, a decree of August 1948 transferred to the exclusive conduct and control of the state the entire system of schools defined as "lay teaching." All private and confessional schools became state institutions, and all property of private foundations devoted to educational purposes was confiscated. The decree affected 1,500 grammar schools; 741 high schools, belonging to the different denominations, which had previously had the status and privilege of public schools, and 211 schools formerly classified as private. The Minister of Public Instruction testified that the decree was drawn up and put into effect "upon instruction from the Central Committee of the Workers Party." Private school buildings were sealed and inventoried. Where schools were attached to religious institutions, all buildings except rooms reserved exclusively for religious functions were classed as part of the school. Nuns at Notre Dame de Sion were left only their personal cells and the chapel. All nuns were incarcerated while the inventory was being taken, and afterward they were subjected to a search of their persons every time they left the convent. The taking of the inventories provided a pretext for many vexatious court proceedings and arrests. Many priests, especially teachers in the seminaries, were dismissed from their posts and several were indicted.

Since the promulgation of this law, all religious instruction in education has been eliminated. Young people between the ages of 15 and 25 are enrolled compulsorily in the Communist-led Proletarian Youth Association, which has the proclaimed object of indoctrinating them "in the true Marxist-Leninist spirit."

The Catholic bishops, in their anxiety to comply as fully as their consciences would permit even with laws they considered unjust, submitted in October 1948 to the Ministry of Cults a draft statute for the organization, conduct, and functioning of the Catholic Church in Rumania. It contained 46 articles which referred not only to Catholics of the Latin Rite but also to those of the Oriental Rite in its Greek and Armenian branches, and it included both the act of faith and the traditional norms of organization.

The Ministry of Cults replied in January 1949, recommending the radical modification of 42 of the 46 articles and demanding the total elimination of many fundamental provisions. It ordered the abrogation of all dispositions dealing with the general dogmatic position of the Catholic Church, the papal dogma, and the canonical attributes of the Holy Father; the norms applicable to the Catholic Church of the Oriental Rite, and the right to give religious instruction in the schools.

Bishop Aaron Marton of Alba-Julia replied in February, expressing his sorrow that the bishops of the Oriental Rite (all of whom were in jail) were prevented from expressing their views, and refusing to reach any compromise on points connected with the primacy of papal jurisdiction, the exclusive right of the Holy Father to appoint bishops and establish the number of dioceses, and the liberty of relations with Rome. All of these, he said, constituted fundamental elements of Catholic dogma.

As a reprisal, the Ministry of Cults announced in May that Bishops Aaron Marton and Anton Durcovici, three canons, and 132 priests and administrative officials of the Catholic Church were struck out of the budget retroactively, with effect from February 1, for "anti-democratic attitudes." And in June the two Catholic bishops were arrested. Their crime, as Cardinal Tisserant (head of the Congregation for the Oriental Church) declared, was that they refused to accept arbitrary state control over the Catholic Church and its organizations. As Bishop Mark Glasser had died of a heart attack after a series of daily verbal gruelings at the hands of the police, the Catholic Church was thus deprived of its last leaders, and other prelates who replaced them as administrators were likewise arrested.

In November 1948 yet another decree was issued which nationalized all medical institutions and eliminated the activities of the religious denominations in hospitals and similar welfare and charitable work. Among the institutions affected were the Catholic hospitals and sanatoria of St. Vincent and St. Joseph in Bucharest, St. Joseph in Oradea, hospitals of monks of the Order of Charity in Oradea, Satu-Mare, and Timisoara, St. Anne's hospital of Timisoara, St. Vincent's in Miercurea Ciucului, maternity hospitals of Targu Mures and Cluj, and many others.

In March 1949, landholdings of more than 50 acres were confiscated. This action affected not only the churches but also the peasants who tilled these lands. During a single night 17,000 peasants were driven from the properties they cultivated. The resulting hardship has been acute, because the dispossessed peasants were forbidden to migrate to the cities or industrial centers or to settle anywhere within 40 miles of the banks of the Danube.

Also in March the Education Ministry issued a decree bringing all religious communities under its direct control. The objects of this decree, which follows closely the restrictions imposed in Russia, are set out as follows in the document itself: "The Rumanian state exercises its sovereign rights to control all religious communities through the Education Ministry. The purpose of this control is to check whether freedom of conscience and freedom of religion are being fully observed. The Education Ministry will consequently control all the denominations, their organs, the religious orders, associations, and other groupings. Only the Education Ministry can authorize the establishment of new parish churches."

If any doubt might still remain that the Communist government of Rumania would tolerate no independent religious voice or activity in the country, it was taken away by a decree of February 1949, which brought together and reinforced the many previous decrees restricting the religious bodies. The new decree stated that the government supervises and controls all religious groups and their branches; that it supervises and controls the religious education of religious personnel; that communities, parishes, and religious administrative units cannot be established without its approval; that it controls and supervises religious art; that it controls and supervises all property and funds of all religious denominations.

This decree applies to the Orthodox Church as well as to the other denominations. The Rumanian Communist government, like the Soviet government which set it up in open violation of the terms of the peace treaty, is explicitly opposed to all religions. It uses the Orthodox Church — just as the Soviets do — only as a weapon in its policy of enslavement. *Scanteia,* official Rumanian Communist organ, made this clear in an article in February 1949 in which it warned the Rumanian Orthodox Church that it must, like the Russian Orthodox Church, maintain a proper attitude toward the official Communist philosophy, which is fundamentally at variance with the old religious concept of the origin of the world.

During 1950 the campaign against the Latin Catholic Church entered a new phase which revealed that the Communist plan was to dispose of it in the same way as the Uniat Church. As a preliminary, the acting papal nuncio, Bishop Gerald Patrick O'Hara (of Savannah, Georgia) and his two aides were expelled by the government on charges of espionage, being given three days to leave the country. Earlier, the press has denounced him as a tool of the United States.

Two months earlier the government had convened at Targu Mures a congress of priests. The preliminary announcements gave no clue of the real plan and in consequence many priests attended in good faith and were horrified to find that a certain Don Andrea Agotha and a few other renegade priests were in charge of the congress and were planning to align the members in a "democratic church" pledged to support Communism. The Agotha group was excommunicated by the Vatican and repudiated by the clergy. But they retained the confidence of the Communists, who by a decree of August 8 turned over to them all movable and immovable property of the Latin Rite Church. Apparently the Communists regard this action as meaning the final suppression of the Latin Catholics and will treat all members as belonging to the "Democratic Catholic Church," in the same way as they regard all Uniats as now members of the Orthodox Church. The technique here employed is remarkably similar to Communist tactics employed to disrupt religion in the other satellites, such as the so-called Peace Movement among Hungarian Catholic priests, the pseudo Catholic Action in Czechoslovakia, and the attempts to create a schismatic Catholic Church in Poland. The Vatican radio reported in July 1950 that most priests still alive were in jail, that at least 700 had been killed. Many more priests, ten of them identified by name, were reported arrested in March 1951.

In the following month Bucharest Radio announced that a 27-member council had been established to direct the small schismatic, pro-Communist group, which the Rumanian Red regime now considers "the Roman Catholic Church." It consists of 14 priests and 13 laymen, with Josif Felner as lay president and Rev. Grigore Fedor as chairman. The radio said the council was formed at a convention at Cluj attended by 250 delegates, and that it would "bring the Roman Catholic Church within the legal order of the state" and "mobilize the Roman Catholic faithful in the struggle for the defense of peace." This council is the Communist version of an ancient Catholic organization, the Council of the Latin Rite of Alba-Julia, dating back to the 17th century and enjoying important rights which include the administration of church property and consultation on the appointment of bishops. The Communists have announced that priests who submit to its authority will receive salaries, and have given it funds for church maintenance and restoration.

The bulk of the Orthodox clergy and laity were as opposed to this perversion and persecution of their religion as were members of the other denominations, and a sharp clash developed within the Orthodox Church between the followers of Patriarch Justinian, who owed his meteoric rise to his membership card in the Communist Party, and the main body of the Orthodox. A decree was issued early in 1949 providing that Orthodox priests would have to take a three-months' indoctrination course in Communism to retain their posts, and by May of that year it was reported that hundreds of them were in jail for refusing to conform.

Efforts were made, as in other Communist-controlled countries, to turn world opinion against the Catholics by getting the smaller Protestant groups to repudiate them. Toward the end of 1949 the pastors of the Hungarian Reformed Calvinist Church were called on to sign a declaration of loyalty violently attacking the Holy See. The pastors, mindful of Transylvania's tradition of religious fellowship, steadfastly refused. But this did not stop the Communists. A few days later the press published the declaration with the signature of all the pastors appended, and all attempts to publicize their repudiation were prevented.

Having prevented the religious orders from continuing any of their traditional educational and charitable works, the next step – as in the other Communist-dominated countries – was to wipe them out. This was done in Rumania by a decree of July 1949 which provided that all religious orders were dissolved as of August 15, a day of special significance for Catholics as the feast of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary. The decree declared that religious orders had become superfluous, because the state had assumed all their welfare functions, and it provided that the 1,400 nuns and 100 monks in Rumania must either enter one of the three convents and two monasteries designated, enter homes for old people, or give up the religious life and register for work. All but 20 of these religious were Rumanians. The convents designated for the 1,400 nuns could have accommodated scarcely 100; but when the nuns learned that they would have to live in these convents under superiors nominated by the Communists, they decided to return to their families.

Through all of these manifestations can clearly be seen the underlying strategy and tactics of the Communists. In each country they search for weak chinks in the armor of their opponents. In Hungary they stress the non-European origin of Hungarians in an effort to turn them from their allegiance to western culture. In Rumania, where the same line of argument would run counter to their interests because it would emphasize the Latin roots of the people, they sought other elements of dissension. As in the Ukraine, they picked on the national Orthodox Church as the religious body easiest to subject and most likely to function as their tool. Having eliminated independent elements in this church and made it subservient to Patriarch Alexei of Moscow, they crushed the Greek Catholic Church and forced it to become a part of the already-subservient Orthodox Church. Now a similar procedure is being followed with the Latin Catholics. By their allegiance to the Holy See the Greek and Latin Catholics kept Rumania in contact with the culture of the west. Their destruction facilitates the process of sovietization of Rumanian society and the expansion of Slav influences.

5. BULGARIA

EVEN the most superficial student of Bulgarian history cannot fail to be struck by the injustice of the popular prejudices in the western world against the Balkans as the powder keg of Europe. People who have not taken the time to investigate the reasons for unending political tension in southeastern Europe have offered the simple explanation that the Balkan nations just cannot live in peace with each other. Yet there are clear historical reasons for the social, economic, and political malaise of this region, which is small in extent and relatively lacking in material resources, but which has been significant in the first development and later protection of western civilization. The Balkan peninsula, populated by different nationalities, has not yet recovered from the great historical cataclysm of the split of the Roman Empire fifteen hundred years ago. Ever since, it has been the field of battle between the cultures of Rome and Byzantium.

The tension resulting from the break-up of the Roman Empire might have resolved itself much sooner in a new equilibrium were it not for the invasion of the Turks, which stratified old attitudes while creating further tensions. Five hundred years of constant warfare against a racial and religious oppressor had such a profound influence on the life of these peoples that they almost forgot what it meant to live in harmony with other states. Scheming and intrigue and the cunning of the guerrilla became almost second nature. Sacrifice and even violent death were accepted as normal to life. The one unchanging value was the family, that is, in a broader sense, the nation, the community of those with the same traditions and language, to be preserved no matter what the cost. And when peoples have acquired such a perspective through a dozen generations, it continues to influence their actions long after the historical justification has ceased.

Bulgaria does not differ in this characteristic from the other Balkan nations. Curiously enough, the Bulgarians, though they speak a Slav language, are not Slavs at all. Their closest relatives are the Hungarians and the Finns. As recently as the beginning of the ninth century the Bulgarians still had their own powerful empire under Czar Simeon, and this empire had all the characteristics of an imperialistic and expansionist people. Indeed a hundred years' war between this Bulgarian Empire and the resurrected east Roman Empire with its headquarters at Byzantium was an important contributing cause to the destruction of both by the Turks. The Bulgarians were the first to be overwhelmed by the invaders from Asia Minor, but they did not yield without a bloody struggle. One of the most important battles of the early Turkish wars was that at Varna on the Black Sea, with the participation of almost all the Balkan peoples and tribes. As did all the Balkans, Bulgaria suffered a severe depopulation under Turkish domination. Even worse than the loss of numbers was the destruction of the cultured groups, the nobility and the aristocracy. Only the peasants survived and, aided by their persecuted but faithful priests, they became the keepers of the national patrimony.

Of all the Balkans, Bulgaria has the strongest peasantry. Strong, dark, silent men, shepherds, tobacco curers, growers of some of the world's finest roses, they have their own rigid opinions and their own code of honor. The rose industry reflects the influence of the Turks, who introduced from the Orient the great rose gardens which make of Bulgaria today one of the world's principal exporters of perfume essence. With the steady decline in the prestige and cultural dynamism of the Turks during the nineteenth century, the Bulgarians like all the Balkan peoples became more interested in the philosophies and political forms of west Europe, as well as in its social searchings and aspirations.

From 1396 to 1878 Bulgaria was a province of Turkey. Russia, which always took an interest in Bulgaria and enjoyed high prestige there, forced the Turks to liberate it. It is noteworthy that the Bulgar Dimitrov, charged by the Nazis with being responsible for the Reichstag fire, was long the most important man in the Cominform. Bulgaria, since 1908 a kingdom, participated in the Balkan wars of 1912 and 1913 and in the first world war. Between the wars there was considerable internal strife and tension with neighboring countries. Bulgaria fought again on the German side in the second world war but did not participate in the campaign against Russia, and Russia did not declare war on her until September 5, 1944. The following day, the Soviets occupied the country and have since determined her fate, following their normal technique of first arranging a coalition government with Communists in key posts and later imposing the full Communist governmental structure.

In the light of their historical experience, it is not surprising that the Bulgarians once reacted favorably to radical peasant movements. Typical of the radical peasant leader was Stambulisky, who led the peasants after the first world war. A new type of leadership, representing the triumph of the radical peasant movements in a modified form, emerged between the two world wars. It consisted of the second generation of peasant statesmen and politicians who had been educated in the universities of Paris, London, and New York and had there absorbed the ideas of western democracy. They were still in close sentimental contact with their people, but through their education and exposure to democracy in action they had learned that violence was a poor weapon for winning converts, that more was achieved in the end by the slower methods of controversy, education, persuasion, and the ballot box.

Between world wars Orthodoxy was, under the constitution, the state religion, but other denominations were guaranteed the free practice of their beliefs and the right to administer their internal religious affairs under the supervision of the Minister of Cults. The Catholics were under the care of an apostolic administrator responsible to the Holy See's Congregation (Ministry) for Eastern Rites. There was no concordat. Modern Catholicism has had a history of about a century in Bulgaria, that is, since Catholic and Protestant missionaries were allowed to enter the Ottoman Empire. They established excellent schools and colleges, which were open to all Bulgarians without distinction of religion. Many of the country's leading statesmen, bankers, and industrialists graduated from these colleges. The Catholics were also pioneers in the operation of hospitals. Most priests belonged to the Passionist Congregation, which was in charge of the Catholic diocese of Russ, or to the Franciscan Order which directed that of Sofia. Priests and nuns numbered about 300. Catholic organizations were permitted by law to operate freely, and the same was true of Protestant organizations. Protestant pastors numbered 77.

The second world war brought to an end the social and political progress which had characterized the previous twenty years. With the deterioration of the national economy, the romantic elements in the country rallied to leaders who promised salvation through revolution. The top man in this group was Georgy Dimitrov, one of the most important men in the international Communist movement since even before the Russian Revolution of 1917. He was at one time Secretary General of the Comintern, and he had the distinction of having been a defendant in the first of the great trials staged by the Nazis, when they charged a group of leading Communists with responsibility for the Reichstag fire. Dimitrov's closest Communist associates were a colorful group. He was nearer to Trotzkyism than to Stalinism, but he was neither so romantic nor so pessimistic as Trotzky. He was at the same time an ardent nationalist, and his dream was the creation of a federation of Communist Balkan states independent of Moscow. Such deviationism was of course intolerable, and in 1947 Dimitrov was ordered to Moscow, where he died. Cancer and aggravated dyspepsia were variously given as the cause of his mysterious death.

The immediate postwar government in Bulgaria, as in the other satellites, was a transitional one, with the Communists led by Dimitrov gradually infiltrating the important administrative positions in preparation for the putsch, while still maintaining the forms of a constitutional monarchy. Their task was simplified by the presence of the occupying Soviet armies, which stifled opposition and directed the creation of Communist patterns. The leaders of Orthodoxy yielded without a fight. Orthodox Exarch Stephen made his act of submission in a pastoral letter of August 1947 in which he praised and pledged his support to the "progressive policy" of the government, declaring himself well satisfied with the "respect" paid religious liberty. Earlier (in July 1945) he had visited Moscow to pay his homage to the Patriarch, and on that occasion he described Russia as the mother of all Slavs.

When King Simeon (son of King Boris and only a boy) was dethroned, the Exarch hastened to pledge his support and that of his church for the "people's democracy." On September 8, 1947, he called publicly on all Bulgarians to rally to the new government, and simultaneously congratulated Dimitrov on the outcome of the elections, which has decided the transformation of governmental institutions. Later, he also publicly approved the creation of the Comintern. His attitude was equally docile in regard to the Soviet Pan-Orthodox tendencies of the Moscow Patriarchate. Express recognition was given to the "primacy" of Russia over the whole Slav world when Patriarch Alexei visited Sofia in December 1946.

Moslem leaders thought it prudent at the beginning to accept the regime. The Grand Mufti of Filipovo thanked the government in September 1949 for having set up two theology schools for Moslems, one for the Bulgarians and the other for the Turks in Bulgaria. The fact that they were celebrating the feast of Kurban Bairam, said the Grand Mufti, proved that Bulgaria gave religious freedom to all.

But this submission by the top leaders did not win any permanent protection for the Moslem faithful. Istanbul newspapers in January 1951 quoted Turkish Moslems returning from Bulgaria as saying that their coreligionists in Bulgaria were leading a life of constant oppression. The country was experiencing a reign of terror and there was an active campaign against the Moslem religion. One refugee said: "The mosques have been transformed into warehouses and the Turkish priests have disappeared."

The Communist constitution of December 1947, constituting Bulgaria a "people's democracy," guaranteed religious freedom in the same generic way as other constitutions of Communist inspiration. It declared the church separated from the state and from education, and the laicization of all education. The Orthodox Church then protested, arguing that it was a people's church and had helped to build the people's democracy, and that consequently the constitution should recognize the existence of a coalition between it and the state. It asked for guarantees for the free profession of the religious life, for freedom of expression in the pulpit, liberty to continue educational and charitable works, respect for the church's authority, facultative religious instruction, and noncompulsory civil marriage. These arguments and claims were rejected in a letter from the government to the Synod of the Orthodox Church in June 1948. The action of some priests, said the letter, jeopardized the state and public order. It was unlawful for anybody to criticize the regime. The constitution had defined that the sovereignty of the state was exercised by the National Assembly. There was no power greater than or equal to this sovereignty, and consequently there was no such thing as an independent spiritual or ecclesiastical authority. The letter added that the Orthodox Church had not always been loyal to the government, particularly toward its social and economic policy, and it accordingly called on the Synod to work out a program of education for its theology students which would ensure that they develop a spirit of loyalty. The Synod should also prepare a program of social activity for the priests which would dovetail into the government program.

This letter was followed by action designed to show that the government would allow the Orthodox Church to function only in a subordinate capacity. The Communist-dominated newspapers conducted a campaign to eliminate activities designed to influence youth. In August 1948 all Orthodox youth organizations were forbidden to make their usual pilgrimages to Rila Monastery. These pilgrimages were an annual celebration of great importance, and only two years earlier the Patriarch of Moscow had participated when he visited Rumania. Also in 1948 the Exarch Stephen resigned for reasons of health. His church accepted the government's ultimatum and at its 23rd Congress in October 1948 approved the separation of church and state. Curiously enough, the government reversed its attitude only a few months later, apparently satisfied that the Orthodox Church had been adequately purged and could be counted upon to help the Communist regime. By the Law of Cults of February 1949 it introduced a principle new to the "people's democracies." It recognized the Orthodox Church as the traditional religious affiliation of Bulgarians and therefore suitable to be declared a "popular and democratic" church. It was accordingly restored to its former position as a state church. But the same law prohibited it, in common with other churches, from participating in the education of youth, which was declared to be the exclusive right of the state; and also from taking part in any charitable activities. However, an exception was made in its favor in regard to Sunday catechism classes. While such classes were prohibited to the other denominations, they were permitted to the Orthodox Church.

The Orthodox clergy, who never agreed with the earlier submission of their exarch to the regime, have thus professed acceptance of the Communists, but they continue a strong underground resistance. Always living in poverty, always inscrutable, they remained in tune with their flocks through the centuries of previous persecutions, invasions, and occupations. Even 500 years of Turkish rule did not change the national character or national religion, but it taught the Bulgarians how to maintain subsistence living both on the economic and on the spiritual levels. It will require the application of their most advanced techniques of mass indoctrination for the Communists to make an impression on this type of underground resistance.

While these restrictions and limitations were being placed on the Orthodox Church, more severe measures were being taken against Catholics and Protestants, who were represented before public opinion as supporters and propagators of foreign influence. When the Holy See appointed Monsignor Francesco Galloni as new apostolic delegate, a religious office without diplomatic status, the Foreign Minister (Vassil Kolarov) said at the beginning of 1949 that the appointment was superfluous, that no papal mission would be allowed in Bulgaria, and that the Holy See was the agent of "dark forces inciting a new world war." He said a clergyman appointed by any organization located outside Bulgaria could not assume office without the government's assent.

All Catholic, Protestant, and Jewish schools were nationalized as from the passing of the new constitution. After that time no religious instruction was allowed in the schools, and it was forbidden to say prayers in school. Instead, antireligious and atheistic propaganda was introduced into all school programs.

No distinction was made between rabbis and Christian clergy in the application of restrictions. If anything, the pressure on the Jews was greater than that on Christians and Moslems. All Zionist organizations were banned at an early stage, and the Jews have fled the country in proportionately greater numbers than from any other satellite. By March 1950 some 42,000 had gone, leaving only four to five thousand.

New restrictions were introduced by the already-mentioned Law of Cults of February 1949. In addition to confirming the prohibition of all educational (even religious instruction) and charitable activities, and the operation of hospitals, orphanages, and similar institutions, it provided that every ecclesiastical nomination had to receive state approval. Catholic and Protestant denominations could not function without state approval, and this approval might be withdrawn at pleasure. All religious groups were forbidden to maintain connections with institutions, organizations or official persons having headquarters outside the country, or to receive gifts of economic aid without state permission. This provision was aimed both at the Catholic monks and priests and at the Protestant missionary societies who depended on help from the United States to carry on their work. Confraternities and other religious associations, as well as all religious publications, might function only as approved by the government.

Heads of churches and the clergy were forbidden to deprive members of any religious rites, including reception of the sacraments. All clergy and church officials must be Bulgarian citizens, "honest and trustworthy," and the government was authorized to revoke the permission given to Bulgarian priests and clergymen to exercise the ministry if it was established that they had violated the laws, moral code, or spirit of the country's "democratic institutions." Theology schools were forbidden to all religious denominations other than the Orthodox Church and the Moslems (and in their case the programs had to be approved by the state), and supervision of the finances of all denominations was entrusted to the state. All missionary activity and all religious activity directed by foreign ecclesiastical authorities was prohibited. Advance censorship for all pastoral letters and other circulars was introduced. Commenting on the law, Minister Kolarov said the former government had allowed religious freedom to be used as a pretext for interference by foreigners in Bulgarian affairs for ends that had nothing to do with the spiritual interests of believers, but that in future the churches would be subject to the sovereignty of the people.

While this law was still under discussion, the government arrested and indicted on charges of treason, violation of the currency laws, and espionage on behalf of the United States and Great Britain the 15 top leaders of the United Evangelical Protestant Church. The trials followed the standard Communist pattern. No announcement of the charges was made until after the accused had been held in secret for several months, and with the announcement of the charges came a statement that all had voluntarily made full confessions of guilt. Before and during the trial the government conducted a violent radio and press campaign denouncing the defendants as spies and traitors. Four were sentenced to life imprisonment, and nine to terms of five to 15 years. Two got suspended sentences of one year and were put on three years' parole. These 15 defendants represented all four Protestant denominations functioning in Bulgaria: Congregational, Baptist, Methodist, and Pentecostal. The four life sentences were to the heads of the four denominations, which are thus deprived of their leaders. The government afterward ordered a reorganization of all four denominations. They were directed to sever all foreign connections and to cease membership in the World Council of Churches.

Another sensational trial was that of Michael Shipkov, a Bulgarian employee of the United States legation in Sofia. While religion was not directly involved in this trial, it deserves mention here because of the light it throws on the methods used by the Communists in all the countries behind the Iron Curtain to break the will of their victims, force them to act as their agents, and make "confessions" in court. Shipkov was first arrested in August 1949. He was questioned and tortured for 32 hours by two teams of interrogators, until he agreed to return to the United States legation as a spy. There he wrote an 8,000-word account of what happened, setting out (as the United States Department of State subsequently said when it released the document) how "a victim of this apparently hypnotic process has had the spiritual fortitude and courage painfully to piece together again the shattered pieces of his moral character and to reveal in detail how a man of integrity can be completely broken and forced to describe in his own words a fantastic story of imaginary crimes of espionage and treason." In connection with this and other incidents, the United States in February 1950 severed diplomatic relations with Bulgaria, charging that the Communist government had not only insulted the American Minister but had carried out a campaign of systematic persecution, including torture and killing, against Bulgarian nationals employed by the legation.

While more numerous than the Protestants, Catholics are only an insignificant minority in Bulgaria. Little news about them trickles out to the free world. The number of priests and nuns is believed to have shrunk from the prewar figure of 300 to not more than 120. The few priests still working are surrounded by a tight network of spies. Red agents watch for any word or act that may be construed as antagonistic to the regime. Priests are prevented from working in many localities for reasons of "military security." A report of December 1950 states that Father Mankiu, a Capuchin, disappeared with two lay Catholics. They are believed to have been killed by the Communists. Another priest was sentenced to 15 years' imprisonment for collecting alms. About 120 priests and religious are jailed or exiled. Members of the faithful who attend their religious duties are classed as suspects, and church-going students are reprimanded in school. All statues, holy pictures, and crosses have been removed from the schools, and priests are forbidden to enter the schools to teach religion. All Catholic institutions have been confiscated. These include the hospitals at Sofia and Plovdiv, the day schools, the boarding school and the orphanage at Plovdiv, the Friars' college, the school of the Sisters of St. Vincent, the St. Joseph (French) boarding school, the orphanage of the Byzantine Rite nuns at Sofia, and the boarding schools for girls at

Ruse, Varna, Jambol, and Burgas. The French boarding school at Burgas has been turned into a state hospital. All the nuns from these institutions have been dispersed. This is all part of a policy of representing Catholicism as an alien element in the life of Bulgaria, to be destroyed as completely as the small Protestant groups have already been destroyed.

6. HUNGARY

HUNGARY, as we know it, goes back to the ninth-century settlement of a fighting race from Central Asia in the Danubian valley. A just and wise ruler of this people decided the best thing for them was that they embrace Christianity and become integrated into the civilization of the west. That decision of Stephen, first Christian King of Hungary, honored as a saint within a century of his death, was of incalculable importance. It is still of incalculable importance, for its effects still operate. It brought to Hungary western institutions and ways of thought, a tradition of the Crown — which Stephen had requested and received from Pope Sylvester II — as a symbol not so much of royal power as of power entrusted by God through the Pope to the king to be used according to the divine law for the common good. For nine centuries the King of Hungary saw himself and was seen by his people as an "apostolic king" bound by a law superior to himself to use his rights and exercise his duties with justice and responsibility.

Christian missionaries from all parts of western Europe brought the arts and crafts and skills and ways of thought of civilized life to the new settlers. The Catholic Church as teacher and counselor won a prestige and moral authority it still retains in Hungarian hearts. Bishops became the leaders of local government and members of the Royal Council. The Bishop of Esztergom, as Primate of the Catholic Church in Hungary, was given the rank of prince and authority second only to that of the king. Up to the beginning of the nineteenth century he wielded great political power, and up to our own days he retained spiritual and temporal influence greater than that of any other subject, as a member of the Upper House. Only in 1945 was the Upper House abolished on the establishment of the republic, and with it the traditional position of the Prince Primate.

Hungary repaid its debt to the west by acting as a bulwark against later invasions from the east. In the thirteenth century it suffered grievously in its successful resistance to the Tartars of Genghis Khan. In the sixteenth and seventeenth it opposed without respite the Turkish invaders, becoming more fully integrated than ever before into the west by reason of political and dynastic unions with Italy, France, Lithuania, Bohemia, Poland, and Germany. The final defeat of the Turks at the end of the seventeenth century found Hungary united with the Hapsburg Empire. For the next century and a half it faced absorption into the German world, but the Magyars maintained their identity by continuous and often bloody opposition. Of the various uprisings, the best known is that of 1848 under the leadership of Louis Kossuth, which was crushed under the boots of hundreds of thousands of Russian soldiers called in by the Austrian Emperor in accordance with a treaty of alliance. In 1867 Hungary's national rights were recognized by the Compromise Law. It created a dualist system under which Franz Joseph, while remaining Emperor of Austria, became King of Hungary.

At the end of the first world war the country broke away from this political status and proclaimed a republic. Only a few months later, Bela Kun and his Moscow-trained Bolsheviks seized power. After a six-month reign of terror, Hungary was delivered by the resistance of its people combined with foreign aid and became a kingdom without a king, but still retaining the idea of a holy Crown. It started with a sense of deep grievance the task of rebuilding. As part of the Hapsburg domain, it had been on the losing side in the first world war. The Bela Kun terror had weakened still further its bargaining power, and the Treaty of Trianon left a truncated state with only a third of the former territory and population of Hungary within its borders. There was consequently much political friction between Hungary and her neighbors all through the period from 1920 to 1944. A whole generation grew up imbued with the idea that the 1920 treaties had inflicted a grave injustice. The universal attitude is reflected even in pastoral letters of Cardinal Mindszenty, who several times referred to "mutilated Hungary," using a term that had become a commonplace in daily speech.

Combined with this sense of grievance was a sense of insecurity in the face of the mounting threat of Russian Communism. The country's bitter sufferings during the historic invasions of the Tartars and the Moslems from the east, and the more recent experience of Russian occupation in 1848, had been refreshed by the Bela Kun tyranny in 1920. The result was the development of a strong government and a willingness to tolerate those elements who saw in the Axis a safeguard against the dictatorship of the proletariat. The Nazi totalitarian philosophy, especially in its racist implications, was rejected by Hungarians almost without exception, but the people did not regard Nazism as nearly so serious a threat as Communism. They believed that the western democracies would in due course take care of Hitler, but they saw no protector against the Communists.

While Hungary witnessed with great uneasiness the political developments which preceded and accompanied the second world war, she had little choice but to participate as a junior partner in many of them. In the fall of 1938 a part of Slovakia with a predominantly Hungarian population was transferred to Hungary. When Czechoslovakia was dismembered in the spring of 1939, Hungary reacquired Subcarpathian Ruthenia, which had been part of the kingdom before 1919. In 1940 Hungary and Rumania agreed to submit to a German-Italian arbitration their claims to Transylvania. It gave half the disputed territory to Hungary and left the balance to Rumania. In 1946 Rumania again got the entire territory.

Hungary up to the second world war could be considered as the last inheritor of the tradition of the Hapsburg Empire. Though the Hapsburgs had been dethroned, the country remained a kingdom, and the Regent was a former aide-de-camp of Francis Joseph. Tradition played as important a part in public life as it did in England. The age-old legal idea which considered the Crown, rather than the person of the king, as the instrument of living power continued to exist. Not only the king but the nobles and various cities, as members of the Crown, had been patrons of the Church; and after 1918 the state, certain cities and communities, and prominent families continued to assume the traditional role of supporting religion. Estates granted by the Crown provided much of the income needed by the Church to meet its enormous social obligations. The Church for its part was always an ardent supporter of the Hungarian people and state. Even the Protestant lords looked to Rome as did their Catholic brothers for help during Tartar and Turkish invasions. As in neighboring countries, the main change in the social and political structure that resulted from the Reformation was that rights analogous to those previously enjoyed by the Catholics were extended to Lutherans and Calvinists. Later, the same status was granted to Jews. Actually, Protestants played a role in national life out of proportion to their numerical strength. Louis Kossuth was first of a long line of Protestant premiers, some Lutheran, some Calvinist, who ruled from 1867 to 1947. And under these Protestant premiers came into existence the first truly progressive party in Hungary, founded at the end of the nineteenth century by Catholics and headed by a Catholic priest. Its ideas, similar to those of the German (Catholic) Center Party and the more recent People's Party founded in Italy by Don Sturzo, promoted land reform, self-determination, and the permeation of the social framework by Christian principles. Bishop Prohaszka from the beginning of the twentieth century renewed Catholic and national life by his writings, sermons, and social movements. His personality and the deep spirituality of his teaching affected also the religious life of other denominations.

Until 1867, education was almost entirely in the hands of the denominations. In the eighteenth century, when Joseph II dissolved the contemplative religious orders, their members established teaching congregations and founded the preparatory schools which formed the main part of the country's educational system. Money and property seized under Joseph II was set aside as a religious educational fund administered jointly by church and state. After 1867 the government began to establish schools (mostly grammar schools) in the peripheral areas later lost to the succession states in 1919. Consequently in post-1919 Hungary, denominational schools far outnumbered state schools. The state did not have money to build many schools, but it participated with the denominations and allocated to them an equitable proportion of education funds. The support varied according to circumstances. Denominational funds were first applied, and the state made up the deficit. In some Catholic schools, the teachers were paid entirely by the parish, by a religious order, or by a community fund. At times the "patron" (who might be a particular community or a wealthy family) had the sole burden of supporting the school. The Catholics were not the only denomination to maintain schools. Proportionately, there were more Protestant schools and teachers, and the Jews also had their own schools, which functioned at all educational levels. The teaching of religion, according to the faith of the children, was compulsory in all schools, state as well as denominational. All teachers in denominational schools, no matter how paid, had all the rights of civil servants, including pension rights based on payments to a pension fund. Normally, the school buildings belonged to the different denominations. Parish properties were evaluated each year, and a minimum theoretical salary fixed for each clergyman. If income did not suffice, the government made up the deficit.

Such was the situation in 1938 when Hungary celebrated the thousandth anniversary of the death of Saint Stephen. The sacred Hungarian Crown, the crown of Saint Stephen, was still the instrument of living power. In its name, the government made orders, the courts pronounced verdicts. The Regent was a Protestant but devoted to the Catholic Church. Budapest had three Catholic dailies, three weeklies, and several monthlies. There were nineteen Catholic dailies in the provinces and a proportionate number of weeklies and periodicals. Six big Catholic publishing houses provided literature and textbooks for the Catholic faithful. Catholic Action was thoroughly organized and played a leading role in the field of charitable activity. Most grammar schools were denominational. Calvinists, Lutherans, Jews, and Catholics all had their high, preparatory, and other schools. There were many Protestant weekly newspapers and complete freedom for all denominations to issue any publications and organize any association they chose.

Hitler's rise to power in Germany produced a change of atmosphere. Because of the revisionist feeling and the universal belief that Hungary had been unfairly treated in 1919, many hoped that this new movement would help Hungary's political aspirations. But the people were not sympathetic to the Nazi ideology, and in consequence deep tensions developed. The Nazis thought to make support for Hungary's political claims dependent on support for the whole Nazi program, and ultimately, against the strongest pressure of public opinion, a group of politicians ranged Hungary with Germany in the war.

One of the results of this action was that the Jews for the first time became subject to severe persecution. Previously, they had enjoyed the same liberties as all other Hungarians, and there was no organized antisemitism. And even when the Nazi anti-Jewish laws were introduced, many Hungarian officials did all they could to ignore or sabotage them. But in March 1944 the Germans took complete control. Subsequently, hundreds of thousands of Jews were taken to Germany, and very few returned.

After the war was over, the republic put an end to the traditional position of the churches. The Papal Nuncio was expelled with other neutral foreign missions early in 1945, and when the government soon sought to resume relations with the Vatican, the Russians vetoed such action. But it was not until 1949 — when a "people's republic" was set up — that the last traces and vestiges of the so-called apostolic inheritance of the state were abolished, the old coat of arms with the apostolic double cross being replaced by a coat of arms similar to those of the other Soviet puppet states, and a Soviet-type constitution being introduced.

During this transitional period the Red Army was the real ruler of Hungary. From the first moment of the occupation, it crushed all who refused to do the will of the Communists. Terror and violence were its normal weapons. The very first important victim was Bishop William Apor of Gyor, who was shot and killed by Russian soldiers in May 1945 while trying to protect a group of women who had taken refuge in the cellar of his residence. From 1942 he had been head of the Holy Cross Association, an organization established to save the Jews which had in fact enabled thousands of them to flee the Nazis.

Inspiration and brain of the carefully conceived and executed master plan to communize Hungary was Matyas Rakosi, Secretary-General of the Communist Party and Vice-Premier. He is the most powerful man in the country, his picture ranking next to Stalin's in position and size on billboards and platforms. A sturdy, self-made man, of lower middle-class family, he has risen through his ability to cloak his extremism in moderation and through his command of Soviet support in crises.

In the Bela Kun regime he edged his way up to the post of Deputy Commissar for Socialist (collective) Production. He spent twelve years in Hungarian jails and twenty in Russia, where he learned perfect Russian and absorbed the Soviet accomplishments. His wife, a native of Usbekistan, is a true Communist assistant to him. His absorption of dialectic-materialistic values and thinking processes as synthesized in the Stalinist philosophy connotes an equally total rejection of the values of western civilization. No trace or influence of Christianity or of his Jewish cultural and spiritual inheritance survives.

Extremist in attitudes and aims, Rakosi avoids violent action, secretly egging on others while cultivating the legend that he himself is reasonable and reliable. He is the contact man with foreign diplomats, and he conducted negotiations with the Catholic bishops and with industrial leaders.

His Communist associations go back to 1912, when as a twenty-year-old student of a commercial academy and member of the Marxist Party, he led the extreme wing of the leftist radical Galilei Circle. Taken prisoner in the first world war, he became a Bolshevik, returned home to Hungary to play his part in the Bela Kun terror, and fled with the other leaders via Vienna and Berlin to Moscow. Like Bela Kun, Rakosi then disappeared from public mention, but his fate was different. Bela Kun passed into oblivion, unconfirmed reports asserting that he was liquidated as a deviationist on Rakosi's recommendation, whereas Rakosi became a secret courier between Moscow and Budapest and by 1924 was already an assistant secretary of the Comintern. Trapped in Hungary in 1925, he was sentenced to eight and a half years in prison. When that term ended, he got a further fifteen years for his part in the 1919 terror, but in 1934 the Hungarians exchanged him for Hungarian banners captured by the Russians in 1848–1849.

He remained in the background till the Red army occupied Hungary, then emerged in the guise of a moderate while other Communists urged extreme measures. As they served their purpose and were eliminated, Rakosi mounted steadily, revealing simultaneously the full extent of his aims. Since the Mindszenty trial, his language has been openly violent and makes it clear that he will crush every element that resists absorption.

The gradual imposition of the Communist system was effected, as in the other puppet states, with cynical disregard for the people's will. At the 1945 general elections only 14 percent of the votes went to the Communist Party. But, backed by the occupying Soviet armies, the Communists seized the key posts. They first took over the Ministry of the Interior and reorganized the police under officers on whom they could rely. A putsch in 1947 ousted the Premier, and the Communist influence and intimidation gave the Party a slight majority in the ensuing elections. Persecution of the other parties by the political police followed. Their leaders fled, and in 1949 the last of them was absorbed into the Communist Party. President of the Republic Tildy, duly elected by democratic process, was removed from office. His son-in-law was executed on charges of treason and espionage.

The development of the Communist pattern in the social and cultural spheres followed the usual procedure, also. Once the key positions in government were occupied, the Communists began to undermine the churches. They set out to create a state monopoly of education by absorbing the denominational education systems, and to further their Marxist-Leninist ideology by restricting religious teaching. The social revolution began with seizure of church property so as to dry up sources of income which enabled the churches to carry on their charitable, cultural, and health activities.

All of this program was revealed and implemented by stages. The Communists at first professed sympathy for the churches and offered cooperation. Marshal Voroshilov as head of the occupying Russian armies gave a most reassuring statement to Catholic Archbishop Grösz (who acted as head of the episcopate from Cardinal Seredi's death to Cardinal Mindszenty's nomination) and the heads of the Protestant denominations. No restriction was placed on the work of the churches, and Matyas Rakosi and other Communist leaders declared they would be working against themselves if they worked against the churches.

The Provisional National Assembly proclaimed in December 1944 complete freedom of religion, and an independent and democratic nation in which free citizens would be guaranteed a free press and the right to organize freely. Local Communists, foreshadowing what was later to happen on a national scale, took action against religious leaders. Auxiliary Bishop Kriston of Eger and two priests of the archdiocese of Kalocsa were arrested by local political police for publishing anti-Communist writings many years before. But on the national level, Istvan Balogh, a Catholic priest who was later suspended and excommunicated, made several declarations on behalf of the Communist-dominated regime to reassure Catholics and Protestants. The churches, for their part, remained aloof from politics, while Cardinal Mindszenty (then Bishop of Veszprem) issued a pastoral letter approving the land reform.

But Communist practice soon began to diverge from promise. Only one Catholic newspaper, *Uj Ember (New Man),* official organ of Catholic Action, was allowed to appear. It had 150,000 subscribers and could have sold 500,000 copies, but it was allowed newsprint for only 50,000 copies. The only other Catholic publications authorized were a monthly literary review and one church weekly, *Sziv Ujság (Sacred Heart Gazette).* Agitation against the Pope, the Vatican, and the Hungarian bishops was started by minor officials and others whom the Communists could repudiate as irresponsibles whenever it was convenient to do so. But the attack was still limited. No objection was made to the traditional ceremonies on August 20, the national holiday, when Saint Stephen's right hand was carried in solemn procession. But great publicity was given to incidents tending to bring religion into disrepute, charges of blackmarketing, incitement to murder, organizations of plots against the state by priests.

In 1946, following unsuccessful attempts by the Communists to reach a working agreement on their terms with the Catholic Youth organizations, all religious associations were dissolved. By June all the 124 lay organizations of the Catholic Church had been eliminated. Both Catholics and Protestants had intensive charity services, which after the war depended largely on foreign aid. Even before their suppression, the Communist Health and Welfare Ministry hampered their activity, refusing import licenses and taking over a large part of charity imports sent to them. Efforts were next made to penetrate the Catholic Church from within, but these succeeded in detaching not more than six priests.

More successful were the attempts to penetrate the Protestant churches. By bribery of the lay delegates and planting of Communist members, many of the Lutheran and Calvinist leaders were ousted. Calvinist Bishop Ravasz was eliminated on a trumped-up charge of Fascist sympathies. Lutheran Bishop Ordass and Lutheran Lay Superintendent Radvanszky were jailed on charges of blackmarketing and misuse of currency. Though they proved all their dealings were perfectly legal, they were convicted. The puppet leaders who replaced them soon surrendered their schools, and since that time the official voice of the Lutheran, Calvinist, and Unitarian church leaders has been an echo of the Communists.

But the bulk of the clergy and laity continued a stout resistance. Many have endured imprisonment rather than make concessions. They gave a notable example of their courage when the presidency of the biggest Calvinist diocese fell vacant. The Communist party and government tried to foist on the delegates a fellow traveler named Roland Kiss. Chief Calvinist Bishop Albert Bereczky, who had replaced ousted Bishop Ravasz and who was a tool of the Communists, acquiesced. Adopting the Communist "single-slate" election technique, they allowed no other name to go forward. But the delegates would not yield. By a big majority they elected Janos Kardoss, a courageous non-Communist lawyer. The enraged Communists forced Bereczky to annul the election. But at a second election Kardoss was again the victor. The Communists then put him in jail and had a stooge nominated in his place. These puppet leaders have control of the Lutheran and Calvinist church organizations and are regarded by the Communists as the only leaders of these bodies. But the great mass of the clergy and faithful continue a passive resistance with all the means in their power.

As soon as the Communist intentions to destroy religion became clear, Protestants and Catholics drew together under the leadership of a man whose entire life had marked him out as fitted to guide the people with courage and wisdom. Joseph Mindszenty, born Joseph Pehm in March 1892 of peasant parents, grew up in a great tradition of love of freedom and of the soil, pride in his country which had protected the Cross through the centuries from foreign invader and domestic tyrant. The glamor of arms had appealed to him as a child, but when the time came, he chose instead the Cross. In 1915 he was ordained to the priesthood. At his first mass, celebrated in the village where he was born, his Protestant and Jewish playmates attended along with the Catholics, an anticipation of the role he was to play in later life.

He was a natural leader, and his people followed him because they knew he was always on the side of justice and right. As a prisoner under the Bela Kun regime in 1919, he built morale and encouraged his companions with gaiety and fearlessness. When the Nazis entered Hungary in 1944 he voiced open opposition to their persecution of the Jews. "Antisemitism," he said, "which proclaims hatred between men, violates the fundamental law of Christianity, which is love. And if today we do not keep sacred and inviolable the Jew's personal freedom, his common and civic rights, tomorrow we may find that we have lost our own. The road of prejudice is a downhill road which ends in the mire of barbarism." To Prime Minister Bardossy, who refused to interfere when the Nazis were persecuting the Jews, he snapped: "I have seen prime ministers leave this palace dead as well as alive. I shall still be a respected priest long after the nation has put you out of office and condemned you."

In 1944 a further honor came to Father Pehm, who had by now adopted the Hungarian name of Mindszenty. He was appointed Bishop of Veszprem. The news was not welcome to the Nazi rulers of Hungary, nor was the continued opposition of the new bishop to their excesses. He worked day and night to save as many Jews as possible from the roundup for mass deportation to Germany which was in progress. In October he was lodged in jail, where he stayed until the expulsion of the Nazis in April 1945. A few months later he was chosen by the Pope to succeed Cardinal Seredi as Archbishop of Esztergom and Prince Primate of Hungary. The Russians tried to stop him from going to Rome to receive the Red Hat as Cardinal, but through the intervention of the American Military Mission he reached Rome in an American plane.

Recognizing the need for the support of all constructive elements in the country in the fight which he did not seek but already anticipated, and recalling also the gesture that had been made to him on the day he celebrated his first mass, the new Archbishop created a noteworthy precedent by calling on the heads of the Protestant churches when he became Primate. The Protestants appreciated the significance of this action, and in 1946 the Calvinist assembly of pastors ordered its clergy in Budapest to participate in full regalia at the Catholic procession on Saint Stephen's feast. When Mindszenty went to Debrecen (known as the Calvinist Rome) to consecrate the vicar as Bishop of Veszprem, the Calvinist bishop with all his clergy and lay leaders attended the ceremony in the Catholic church.

Cardinal Mindszenty used all his efforts to maintain friendly relations with the government. When he went to Rome to receive the Red Hat, he communicated to the Pope the request of the Hungarian government to resume diplomatic relations broken off in 1945. When the Communists began to attack the denominational schools, he worked out a plan with Calvinist Bishop Ravasz, Hungary's leading Protestant educator, to unite Catholic and Protestant schools in order to save them from expropriation. On the subject of the denominational schools, Bishop Ravasz pointed out that these schools were in greater demand than at any former time. Though the denominations were unable to give free education, great numbers of parents were ready to undertake serious burdens to assure religious education for their children. Even parents belonging to the Socialist parties sent their children to the denominational schools. "Sometimes it is stated," Ravasz declared, "that parents have no more right to choose the type of education their children will receive than they have to choose a collector of taxes or a court of justice, that the state should provide schools and oblige the parents to send their children to the school of their district. Such mechanical pedagogy is a disgrace to democracy. The right of citizens to give their children the education of their choice is a basic human right, the freedom of worship and conscience."

After the ousting of Premier Ferenc Nagy in May 1947, the Communists moved more rapidly. During the period from June 1946 to January 1948, Communist efforts were concentrated on eliminating all opposition from Parliament and from the political life of the country. Attempts were simultaneously made to split the united religious front of Catholics and Protestants and to introduce leaders subservient to the Communists. A Communist-dominated Catholic "front," composed of weak Catholic laymen who called themselves progressives, was created. It tried to establish contacts with similar groups in France and other countries. An ex-Catholic, the education minister, led the attack on the educational system. *Uj Ember*, organ of Catholic Action, had various issues sequestrated. Police interfered with pilgrimages and processions during 1947, which had been declared the Year of the Blessed Virgin. Loudspeakers were first prohibited outside and subsequently even inside the churches. Processions were next banned, and finally the ban was extended to the pilgrimages also.

The next step was a law expropriating all schools conducted by religious orders. This was followed in June 1948 by the seizure of all denominational schools. Schools operated by the churches numbered nearly 5,500, of which almost 3,000 were Catholic (2,824 elementary, 82 middle, 35 secondary, 33 teacher training). Protests against nationalization from 2,500 towns and villages signed by hundreds of thousands of people were ignored. The only concession was that religious instruction might still be imparted to children whose parents so requested in writing. And the Communists used all their propaganda to frighten parents and prevent them from registering. That campaign was a total failure. Registration was 100 percent in the country parts and 98 percent in the cities, as a joint pastoral letter of the bishops testified for the Catholic children. But the Communists continued to obstruct. In some schools they failed to introduce religious instruction on the plea that there were not qualified teachers. In others, they created difficulties to prevent payment to teachers of religion, while universally they organized alternative attractions to lure the children away from the religious classes held after school hours.

By the summer of 1950 the Communists felt themselves strong enough to make a further move against religion in education. In a violent attack, in which he denounced specifically the Jewish and Catholic and some of the Protestant leaders, Education Minister Jozsef Revai said a ban on all teaching of religion in secondary schools was about to be imposed and would probably be followed by other measures against the clergy. "Scientific education based on Marxism-Leninism," he said, "cannot be carried out along with theological education within the same organizations." Among the denominations denounced by name were the Baptists and the Seventh Day Adventists, with whom Revai bracketed the Freemasons. Their anticlericalism belonged to the past, he said, and they had no place in the new Hungary because of their close sympathy with western imperialism.

During 1949, Catholic publishing houses and printing presses were seized, and the former textbooks were replaced by textbooks written according to the Marxist-Leninist-Stalinist philosophy. Only the Communist-sponsored youth organization was permitted. The leaders of Catholic Action were imprisoned. The charge was that they had stated in a circular letter: "We do not want to have an atheistic youth hostile to the Church, the clergy, and the Pope. Therefore, we protest against the nationalization of the schools." Youth hostels and high-school groups were penetrated by Communist agitators who forced them to demonstrate against the Cardinal, the bishops, and the clergy. Banners were distributed bearing the inscription "Death to the Cardinal." About 20 priests were arrested because of sermons they preached. Contact with the Holy See was eliminated as far as possible. After Cardinal Mindszenty's visit to receive the Red Hat, only two bishops were allowed to go to Rome between 1945 and 1949. One of these visits was approved by the Communist leaders because they hoped it would further their campaign against the Cardinal. When Mindszenty was arrested, the regime published a statement offering "peace" to the Holy See if it agreed to recall the Cardinal.

The whole weight of the propaganda machine was directed toward blackening the Cardinal and representing him as not only an enemy of the regime but an enemy of the Hungarian people. All civil servants had to sign statements against him. The two religious publications were prevented by the censorship from answering these charges. The Catholic leaders were unable to express their views outside the church buildings, while the Communists had exclusive use of the press and radio to spread the most repulsive infamies.

Before his arrest, the Cardinal anticipated what would happen to him. In a now-famous declaration to the Conference of Hungarian bishops, he said: "I have taken part in no conspiracy whatsoever. I do not wish to confess anything to those who accuse me. I have no statement to sign. In case I do make a confession, it will be only a manifestation of human weakness."*

On his arrest, some of his friends went to break the news gently to his mother. When they called on her, they began to prepare the ground, but she quickly interrupted them. "Why are you beating around the bush?" she asked them in a clear voice. "I suppose he's in jail again. It's not the first time, and it won't be the last." He had been jailed in 1919 by the Communist Bela Kun regime, in 1944 by the Nazis. The new arrest came as no surprise to his mother, for the Cardinal had only a short time before taken leave with the words: "Don't cry, Mother. Your son will die for the freedom of our people."

But the Communists were determined not to allow him to play any such noble role. They wanted not only to destroy him physically but to break his spirit and present him to his people and the world as weak and worthless. After 38 days in jail, the trial began. There are no absolutely reliable accounts of what happened during these 38 days, but the trial itself showed that the Cardinal had been conditioned physically and mentally. According to persisent reports, the Communists used a drug called scopolamin, which has the effect of breaking a person's will and making him amenable to suggestions made to him while under its influence. It is believed that the same drug was used on the three Slovak bishops who pleaded guilty in a trial at Bratislava in January 1951. His first interrogation lasted without a break for 82 hours, more than three full days and nights.

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* See similar statement by Archbishop Beran, p. 42.

Though the Communists cloak in deepest secrecy their torture methods, the testimony of many people who have been subjected to them in different countries behind the Iron Curtain is available to give a general picture of the technique. The accounts provided by different people close to Mindszenty in the time between his arrest and his trial are supplemented by the sworn statements of such fellow sufferers at the hands of the Communists as Dr. Zoltan Nyisztor in Hungary and Michael Shipkov in Rumania.

Dr. Nyisztor, a high-placed Hungarian priest and close friend of Cardinal Mindszenty, made a statement under oath in Bogotá, Colombia, after an amazing escape. Arrested in November 1946, he was urged to "offer his services" as an informer. When he refused, he was placed in a bare room with only a board on the cement floor for a bed, and there he spent 20 days in a temperature between 10 and 15 degrees below zero. Food was two plates of soup, a cup of Russian tea, and a small piece of bread daily. Opportunity for the exercise of physical functions was given only once daily. During the night, drunken guards kept him constantly awake.

"The meager rations, the biting cold, the prolonged questioning, always held at night, the constant menace of death, the lack of sleep, the dreary outlook, the terrible moanings of victims in the torture chambers, the fear that my turn would come next, all this coupled with my previous six months' imprisonment in a Hungarian jail had exhausted me to such a point that I had become emaciated. I was so weak that during the last days I could lie down and rise only with great effort or with the help of guards."

Finally Dr. Nyisztor agreed to spy on the Cardinal, and while released for that purpose, managed to flee.

Less fortunate was Michael Shipkov, an employee of the United

States legation in Sofia, whose arrest and subsequent treatment are described on page 110. His sworn account, released after his rearrest, has solved – according to the United States State Department – the "mysterious enigma" of how such confessions are obtained, as they were obtained from Cardinal Mindszenty and Robert Vogeler in Hungary.

By February 1949 the Communists felt they were ready for the final act in the parody of justice. They were anxious to dispose quickly of the Mindszenty case, which was of utmost importance as a warning to Hungarians that none could resist successfully, and which was embarrassing internationally because of the violent revulsion in all free countries. Nothing was left undone to ensure that the trial would go according to plan. The Chamber of Lawyers had already been thoroughly purged so that no defendant could obtain a lawyer of integrity and independence to handle his defense. The Cardinal had selected as his lawyer an old friend who was a member of Parliament, but the court rejected him and assigned one Dr. Kalman Kiczko, who had allegedly been a member of the Communist Party from the days of Bela Kun.

The trial, like all political trials behind the Iron Curtain, took place in a "people's court," consisting of a president selected by the Justice Minister and four members appointed through the Communist Party. Only the president of such courts is a lawyer, and he has no voice unless the others are equally divided. For the Cardinal's trial, the Justice Minister selected Dr. Vilmos Olti as president. He was a bitter enemy of the defendant on two counts, in that he was a notorious ex-Nazi now high in the councils of the Communist Party. The state propaganda machine, which before the trial had waged a vicious campaign of defamation against Mindszenty, reached a climax of vituperation as the trial opened. Proceedings were broadcast from the courtroom, the announcer's opening statement returning a verdict of guilty in these words, before the evidence had been heard: "We bring you a sound picture of the Mindszenty criminals. The traitor stands before his judges. The whole disreputable company, the representatives of counterrevolution and reaction, are in the dock. . . ." The "confessions" of the Cardinal and his fellow victims were read. The Cardinal, broken and emaciated as he obviously was, a mere shadow of the man who had been arrested less than two months before, answered all questions with care and reserve. Six times the broadcast was interrupted when he was speaking, to prevent the transmission of statements obviously not pleasing to the prosecutors. Nothing he admitted could in any sense be construed as a crime or an attempt to overthrow the regime by violence. But this was no obstacle to the carrying out of the Communist plan. The Cardinal's defense counsel made no effort to defend him. All that remained was for the court to pronounce the predetermined sentence, life imprisonment. The Communists had prevailed. But the world had not been deceived. Its reaction was summed up by England's Premier Clement Attlee, who described the trial as "utterly repugnant," and by President Truman, who called it "infamous."

Cardinal Mindszenty's trial was followed by a short lull. But the persecution was soon renewed, and the state revealed more openly than ever before its determination to propagate atheism. At Christmas 1949 the Communist publishing house issued hundreds of thousands of Christmas cards bearing a picture of the Holy Family and the usual greetings. But the cards had two overprints in red with the following text: "Christmas is their holiday, ours is the First of May. Christ is their superstition, our hope is Socialism."

The legal status of religion and of religious groups in Hungary is the same as in Soviet Russia. The constitution of 1949 incorporated the Soviet formula allowing religious worship and freedom of antireligious propaganda. This constitution was promulgated after elections described by United States Secretary of State Dean Acheson as a flagrant violation of the political freedom guaranteed in the peace treaty.

The Jews have not escaped persecution. The survivors of the Nazi persecution started a mass exodus to Israel after 1945. The *New York Times* reported in March 1950 that 27,000 had gone, more than 20,000 of them illegally, leaving 150,000 Jews in Hungary, including the largest surviving European community of Orthodox Jews, 30,000 in number. At first the Communists did not object, but later they prohibited the emigration of men under the age of 60. Jewish welfare agencies and the American Joint Distribution

Committee were dissolved and all Zionist associations were prohibited. The American leader of the principal Jewish welfare agency was arrested and later expelled. As United States Minister to Hungary Selden Chapin said in April 1949, the Communist objective was the absorption of all churches, Jewish and Moslem as well as Christian, into the state, so that they could be used for political purposes.

The Christians of Hungary, faithful to the country's traditions, stood with the Jews in this new persecution, as they had done under the Nazis. Dr. Bela Fabian, one-time president of the Independent Democratic Party and a Jew who endured concentration camps under Hitler and later fled to the United States to escape the Communists, sketched a picture of this cooperation in the autumn of 1949 when Father James Raile, a Jesuit, was killed in an auto accident in New England. "There was grief in the Jewish community of Budapest," he wrote, "when the *Voice of America* reported Father Raile's death." Having described Father Raile's part in a remarkable rescue operation at 25 Maria Utca in Budapest, and recounted the priest's escape from the Communists, he added: "Everyone had a story about him in which the sun always shone. In the foreground of the stories there were always instances of his fearlessness and humor. In the background was some hunted Jew, hidden and trembling."

In January 1951 Dr. Bela Fabian, now a member of the National Council in New York, disclosed that he had received information from the Hungarian underground that the antisemitic campaign had been stepped up and that preparations were being made to deport 20,000 persons, many of them Jews, to Soviet labor camps. It was feared the antisemitic campaign was a prelude to wholesale deportations of Jews to Soviet Russia or Siberia. The Hungarian underground confirmed previous reports of wholesale deportation to eastern Siberia of almost the entire Jewish population of the Ukraine, White Russia, and the Crimea.

The Hungarian government made an agreement in the spring of 1950 with the Israeli government to permit the emigration of 3,000 Jews, but only 2,000 of these had got exit visas by February 1951. This agreement brought no easing of the ban on Zionist organizations nor any lightening of the restrictions, which bear alike on priests and rabbis in their religious work. There is intensive government propaganda and pressure to have the Jews remain, but nearly all of them want to get out. "According to the memorial submitted by the U.S. Jewish Labor Committee to the United Nations in March 1951, the Communist government of Hungary has confiscated all Jewish wealth in the country, totaling about one and a half billion dollars. Many Jewish civil servants have been dismissed. "The same pattern of destruction of Jewish religion and cultural life as observed in Russia, Poland, and Rumania repeated itself in Hungary. All Jewish schools under the direction of the Jewish community were nationalized and the teaching of Hebrew was outlawed. Non-Jewish Communists have replaced the Jewish teachers in the school system. Jewish pupils are forced to attend school on Saturday, and the government has ordered all Jewish shops and places of business to remain open on Saturday. Political spies and informers have been placed in synagogues and wherever Jewish ceremonies are held."

The people, though helpless against the Communist police backed by the Soviet occupying troops, made many despairing attempts to voice their protests. As early as 1946 there were widespread spontaneous demonstrations in favor of Cardinal Mindszenty. The peasants in some villages, as in Pocspetri, took up arms. Students, priests, and political leaders suspected of planning opposition were arrested. Some were charged with plots to blow up monuments erected to honor the Red army, others with attempts to kill Russian soldiers. Not only such real or alleged attempts at opposition (for in most cases it is impossible to distinguish the real from the pretended), but also every cultural and Christian revival was put down with ruthless violence. The World Congress of Youth, a Communist-sponsored movement, met in Budapest with thousands of delegates from all over the world in August 1949 and openly declared its hostility to Christianity and to the west. At this performance, some Communist-dominated Protestant groups were paraded in an effort to prove that the "people's democracy" permitted religious freedom.

Freemason lodges were dissolved in June 1950 because they were "trysting places of the enemies of the people's republic, capitalist elements, and followers of the western imperialists."

In 1949 the Catholic bishops and priests were called upon to take an oath of loyalty to the "people's democracy." The bishops refused, but they authorized the priests to take the oath subject to the same reservations ("in so far as not in conflict with the laws of God and the Church and the rights of man") as authorized by the Czechoslovak hierarchy. Religion was by this time wholly on the defensive, but the faithful continued to fill churches and a deep religious feeling pervaded the country. Vocations were more numerous than ever before. But the denominational schools, organizations, and press had been completely eliminated, and church leaders lived in fear of new restrictions. The Communist monopoly of education was immediately used to indoctrinate youth with Marxism-Leninism. The teaching of western languages was eliminated and Russian became a compulsory subject. Young people in the villages were taught to sing Communist songs in Russian. In October 1949 a campaign began against Hungarian folksongs, music, literature, painting, architecture, and sculpture. They expressed, according to the Communists, the sentiments of an oppressed people, whereas in the "people's democracy" there must be a spirit of new optimism. Artists and writers were directed to absorb the new Communist culture of Russia. This campaign signified the start of spiritual genocide to complete the subjugation of Hungary and the other satellites in the Soviet orbit.

In the economic sphere, the Russian system was also applied. The peasants were forced to form collective farms. All factories were nationalized. In the same way, intellectuals were forced into Communist-dominated organizations. Only one association was permitted for writers, one for musicians, one for teachers. History was rewritten, the names and facts reevaluated. Those regarded as reactionary were suppressed. Many thousands of books were purged from public libraries and destroyed. Not even under the 150 years of Turkish occupation was there so great a threat to national human and spiritual existence. There has been a mass exodus of intellectuals, and those who remained could no longer speak.

Catholics, Protestants, Jews, and liberals were subjected to the same restraints if they failed to toe the Party line. Members of the old aristocracy or of the middle classes who became Communists were granted substantial privileges. One such was a Princess Margit Odescalchi, a violent Communist agitator, who was for a time counselor to the Hungarian (Communist) legation in Washington. All others could escape punishment only by remaining silent and avoiding social activity. Adults might go to church if they had time, but children were hindered actively in the performance of their religious duties. The liberals who belonged to no church but sought to develop art and literature for their own sake no longer had any newspapers or magazines or other media of expression. Some tried to save themselves by becoming fellow travelers, but many of these were arrested as Trotskyites. Many radical liberals who fought on the Communist side in 1919 and 1920 under Bela Kun were jailed at the end of 1949 and the beginning of 1950.

During 1949 the Catholic religious orders suffered grievously. They were forbidden to teach or engage in charitable activities. Many of their monasteries were expropriated and the communities jammed into small houses. Many Jesuits, Benedictines, Dominicans, Franciscans, Premonstratensians, and others were forced to leave Hungary. Some of these established seminaries in Italy, others in the United States. Shortly before Christmas 1949 the Communist authorities sequestrated the monastery of the Carmelite nuns at Györ, giving the sisters six hours to leave the premises. The Ursulines were expelled from their convent in similar circumstances. A decree was issued forbidding the employment of nuns in state-financed or municipal hospitals as from January 1, 1950, but it was suspended for a time because its implementation would have paralyzed the work of many hospitals.

In April and May 1950 the Communists occupied many monasteries and convents throughout the country, just as they were doing at the same time in Czechoslovakia, and expelled the monks and nuns. On June 9, at night, 922 priests, monks, and nuns were seized and taken off at 30 minutes' notice to concentration points, being allowed to carry nothing with them of all their belongings. Immediately after their arrest, a smear campaign conceived in all its details by the same mastermind as that in Czechoslovakia, was initiated. Workmen were reported to have found two corpses in one monastery, presented as evidence that the monks were terrorists and murderers. Two short-wave transmitters were alleged to have been discovered in another monastery; elsewhere, huge quantities of buried money, espionage material, and immoral books. Many of the monks were drafted for manual work, and all religious were expelled from schools and hospitals as quickly as replacements could be found.

Forty-five of the top superiors of religious orders of men and women addressed a memorandum to the government in July 1950. They said that the concept of religious freedom included freedom for those who so wished, to live the religious life and carry on all activities proper thereto. This, they said, had been always recognized in Hungary, but now members of religious orders had been reduced almost to ghetto conditions, deprived of all property and goods, stripped of their chapels, blocked from contacts with the faithful, forbidden to teach. Their theological schools and novitiates had been confiscated and the nuns had been dismissed from the hospitals.

The answer to this memorandum was a new denunciation by the Education Minister, who described the signatories as imperialist agitators and reactionary newsmongers. The solution of the quarrel, he said, lay in the suppression of many monasteries.

Although the bishops issued a joint statement defending the religious against this attack, the violent suppressions continued. By the beginning of July 1950 only two religious houses in Budapest has escaped, and it was estimated that 70 percent of the monks and nuns in the country had been interned. Two months later the government sought to give legal sanction to its illegalities by decreeing the dissolution of all but four of the 67 religious orders in the country, giving the monks and nuns three months to return to civilian life. And starting with the new school year, the government decreed that theological studies would be separated from the universities and placed under the direction of the Minister of Cults. This action fits into the pattern applied in other satellites in which, following the transfer of control of seminaries to Communist officials, atheists were appointed as professors and the curriculum was redrawn according to "the scientific principles of Marxism-Leninism."

Another clear instance of interference by the Communists in the internal affairs of religion took place during the summer of 1950, when Vicar Capitular John Drahos, who was in charge of the Esztergom diocese during Cardinal Mindszenty's imprisonment, died. His assistant, Karoly Gigler, was in June elected by the diocesan chapter to replace him. That same night Gigler disappeared and was never heard from again. Then Zoltan Meszlenyi was elected. He in turn was arrested on July 29 and disappeared. The Communists next put forward Monsignor Beresztoczy, a former division head in the Ministry of Cults known as a weak man and believed to be a tool of the secret police. The chapter first rejected him but later, under intense pressure, elected him. This election was voided by the Holy See because of duress, and Bishop Endre Hamvas of Csanad was thereupon named to administer the Cardinal's diocese.

As in all countries they dominate, the Communists have made great efforts in Hungary to make it at least appear that the churches accept a position of dependence. While pleased with the qualified oath of loyalty to the "people's democracy" which the bishops authorized the priests to take in the autumn of 1949, they wanted still more. They accordingly declared that all payments of subsidies would be suspended until the bishops accepted a new church-state accord. This was followed by various other pressures, including the steps taken against religious education during the first half of 1950, already described. Advantage was taken of the phoney Stockholm peace appeal to increase the pressure. Violent press attacks were made on the bishops for refusal to sign. The Education Minister threatened as a reprisal to close many monasteries, and this was in fact done. Communist Party officials were warned not to allow their children to receive religious education. Hundreds of priests and lay teachers of religion were dismissed for refusing to sign.

Finally, the bishops, in an effort to save the Church from total destruction, accepted what was described by the chairman of the negotiating committee (Archbishop Joseph Grösz of Kalocsa) as an interim agreement. On the face of it, they seemed to have got some concessions. They agreed to acknowledge and support the regime, condemn subversive activities, request all Catholics to help advance the Five Year Plan, forbid priests to oppose the land collectivization policy, and support the peace movement. The government in turn guaranteed complete freedom of religion for Catholics and freedom of activity for the Catholic Church in accordance with the constitution. It undertook to return eight Catholic schools out of thousands, to permit religious men and women to work in sufficient numbers to teach in those schools,* and to supply the financial needs of the Church for eighteen years, a period regarded as adequate to enable the Church to provide new sources of revenue for itself. The bishops stated explicitly that the agreement in no way affected the rights of the Holy See in regard to settlement of state-church relations.

It quickly became apparent that the government's only interest was to secure the backing of the Catholic Church and that it had no intention of carrying out its part of the bargain. About a month later, over the protests of the bishops, all but four of the country's 67 religious orders were disbanded, as described above, and new pressure was brought to bear to sever all relations between the Catholic Church in Hungary and the Holy See. Deputy Premier Matyas Rakosi said in November 1950 that the state would continue its hostility toward the Church because the Holy See's clerical satellites were the most important of the satellites of the warmongers. But the concurrent press and radio campaign to abolish the "capitalist and superstitious conception of Christmas" in favor of the Soviet midwinter celebrations showed that the government's intention was more radical, aiming at the foundations of religious belief. In the schools the children were told that their gifts came not from a fictitious Infant Jesus but from a genuine Father Frost. The campaign was tied in with the Stockholm peace appeal. One paper urged poets to write more warlike verses in defense of peace. It was reported that from next term all "reactionary bourgeois elements" would be barred from colleges and universities.

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* The situation with regard to these schools in March 1951 was that each school was limited to two monks or nuns to each grade, eight to the school, thus preventing any expansion. This allows for a total of 64 monks and nuns, belonging to the Benedictines, Franciscans, Piarists, and Poor School Sisters. Only these teachers are permitted to wear religious habits. Other members of these orders have had to leave their monasteries, as have all members of all the other religious orders in the country.

How artificial and antidemocratic is the government campaign was highlighted by the popular response to two pastorals of the bishops issued during December urging prayer and ordering special devotions for peace and replacement of "the reign of violence by the Kingdom of God." Huge crowds thronged the churches and received the Eucharist. It is this popular support that has made the Communists stop short of completely outlawing the Church. But the process of attrition that has culminated in total legal liquidation in other satellites continues in Hungary according to the master plan.

In preparation for the final step the Communists have set up what they call the Peace Committee of Catholic Priests. It is headed by the already-mentioned excommunicated priest, Istvan Balogh, and an ex-Cistercian monk, Richard Horvath. It was used in the campaign against the bishops in August 1950 to mislead public opinion. Priests are terrorized into joining and are then represented as being in conflict with their superiors. This committee was kept in existence after the "peace appeal" had ended. It publishes a pseudo-Catholic paper called *The Cross,* the first editor of which (a young priest who had allowed himself for a time to be duped) was killed while attempting to flee the country. In the Communist plan this committee has the twofold function of encouraging the development of schismatic Catholic movements and of extending the influence and membership of the Moscow-dominated Orthodox Church. Priests and people continue to resist both initiatives with heroic fortitude. Never in the country's history was religious feeling so intense. The churches were particularly crowded in March 1951 to observe the twelfth anniversary of the election of Pope Pius XII. And again on Easter Sunday and the following day there were quite extraordinary manifestations of religious devotion. But the Communists refuse to recognize the will of the people. In April they gave the Order of Merit to several of the pro-Communist priests heading their "peace appeal" and unleashed savage new attacks on the bishops for refusing to sign a new Communist petition for a five-power peace pact, charging that this refusal constituted a breach of the 1950 agreement.

A report of April 1951 that the Orginform, religious-affairs department of the Cominform, had sent representatives to Hungary to speed up liquidation of "clerical reaction" foreshadowed further efforts to break the solid front of Catholic solidarity. Earlier, the two Communist agencies now spearheading the attack on religion (the Association of Godless and the Orginform) met at Karlsbad, Czechoslovakia, and directed that direct denunciation of religion should be suspended, that instead the fight should be represented as against unworthy elements in religious groups, and that church organization should be disrupted by infiltrating fake priests and by similar methods of boring from within. The first concrete result was the arrest, "conditioning" in prison, trial, and condemnation on June 28, 1951, to 15 years' imprisonment of Archbishop Joseph Grösz of Kalocsa, aged 64, head of the Hungarian Board of Bishops since Cardinal Mindszenty's jailing. The charges were the same as those against the Cardinal: espionage, armed conspiracy, Nazi sympathies, black market currency dealings. The same ex-Nazis, Vilmos Olty and Gyula Alapi, were president of the court and prosecutor. The same abject "confessions" were extracted from the Archbishop and his codefendants, by the same methods. But the object differed. The Cardinal, an outspoken opponent of Communist excesses, had been sentenced as a warning to others. Archbishop Grösz had always sought a *modus vivendi* consistent with Catholic principles. In November 1948, Communist Deputy Premier Matyas Rakosi wrote Cardinal Mindszenty: "If the head of Hungary's Roman Catholic Church were as peaceloving a man as the Archbishop of Kalocsa, Joseph Grösz, who does not concern himself with politics but exclusively with the affairs of his church, there would be no trouble between the state and the church in Hungary." The Archbishop's condemnation is accordingly the opening shot in a total war to eliminate the Hierarchy bit by bit and seize control of the Church organization in that country.

7. *YUGOSLAVIA*

YUGOSLAVIA as a distinct political entity came into existence only at the end of the first world war, by the union of four neighboring peoples, the Serbs, Croats, Slovenes, and Montenegrins, who had had a very different cultural and religious background and political experience. The Serbs and Croats were numerically the biggest groups in the new state, constituting nearly a half and nearly a quarter, respectively, of the population.

The national history of the Serbs goes back more than a thousand years. They were pure Slavs and adhered to the Eastern or Greek Orthodox form of Christianity. They played an important part in Europe's fight against the Turks and were for centuries under the domination of the Ottoman Empire. During this struggle the old nobility was wiped out and replaced by a new soldierly ruling class. In this borderland of empire, the Turks did not proselytize with the same energy as in lands completely integrated. As long as taxes were paid promptly, they left the peasants undisturbed. Consequently, though in some parts of the present territory of Yugoslavia — as in Bosnia — we find districts so transformed that their Slav inhabitants became and remained Moslems, the Serbs generally continued to profess Orthodoxy and preserved their distinctive habits and traditions.

Whereas the Serbs before the first world war constituted an independent kingdom, the Croats when liberated from the Ottoman Empire remained until 1918 a unit in that of the Hapsburgs, which had supported and directed their fight for freedom, living in a kind of condominium with the Hungarians. Unlike the Slav Serbs, the Croats were Latin Catholic, having close associations with Rome throughout their history and looking always on themselves as part of the civilization of the west. They were even less affected than their Serb neighbors by Turkish ways and methods, and they too played a big part in the centuries-long struggle against the Turks. In the Middle Ages the Croat kingdom was very important, and that tradition is still alive.

Neither Croats nor Slovenes look on themselves as belonging to the predominantly Orthodox Balkan family of nations. The Slovene language is entirely different from the Serbo-Croat, which latter is written by the Serbs with Cyrillic letters but with Latin by the Croats. Despite these historical differences, all three peoples have been brought closer than ever together by the common threat of Communism to all they hold dear.

Montenegrins, Bosnians, and Macedonians, as well as the other three peoples, have each a Soviet-style republic in the present Communist Yugoslav Union of Socialist Republics. Bosnia has the highest proportion of Moslems. The 400,000 Montenegrins maintained their independence from the Turks by constant wars from the fourteenth century. Their princes played an important role in Balkan history, and often also through dynastic marriages in other parts of Europe. Few have paid so dearly in human lives as Macedonia for its struggle to defend its liberties. Today its voice is all but silenced. Yugoslavia has substantial Slovak and Rumanian racial minorities. The district adjoining Hungary, which for nine centuries before 1918 was part of Hungary, had about 400,000 Hungarians. After the Turkish wars the south of Hungary and north of the present Yugoslavia were so depopulated that Empress Maria Teresa brought colonizers from Alsace and Thuringia. Many of their descendants have been expelled in the past few years.

Serbs, Croats, Slovenes, and Montenegrins, like all Balkan peoples, have seldom known peace. For centuries they have been accustomed to expecting little from life and in the struggle for existence have developed habits and attitudes that enable them to meet the unexpected and survive under whatever ruler happens to be in power, biding their time until they can strike with some hope of success. War has always meant to them not a mere clash of armies but an activity of the entire population, with every man, woman, and child contributing what he can, when he can, and where he can. They have the virtues of soldiers, a high sense of honor, ability to endure pain and hardship, a disregard for their own lives. They have also the attitudes of the guerrilla.

Long before the first world war the Serbs, Croats, Slovenes, and Montenegrins, who ultimately merged into Yugoslavia, began to develop a sense of interdependence. Various mistakes of policy of the Austro-Hungarian Empire and other inner and historical circumstances produced political groups both in independent Serbia and in the neighboring parts of the Hapsburg dominions whose aim was to create a union of Slavs, a "Yugoslavia," as a federal kingdom which would allow the free development of the various nationalities under a single ruler of their own choice. By 1914 the extremists in this movement were advocating force to achieve their ends, and the first world war was in fact set off by the assassination of Archduke Ferdinand of Austria at Sarajevo in Bosnia. During that war the Serbs fought with all their traditional tenacity. No other country lost proportionately or in actual numbers as many citizens as they did. Their entire country was occupied and the remnants of their army had to take refuge in Italy. The allied victory restored their freedom and opened the way for the creation of Yugoslavia, the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes.

But the dream of the federationists did not work out as they had planned. Some Serbs regarded themselves as having a privileged position in the new state, not only because of their numerical preponderance but also because they had already had their government organization and controlled the federal government apparatus. Tension soon developed between Serbs and Croats, each side resorting to violence as the convenience of the moment dictated. Among the many leaders assassinated were Stefan Radic, radical Croat, and King Alexander, who was shot to death together with M. Barthou, French Foreign Minister, in the south of France. But through all conflicts the centralist policies prevailed, and by the time the second world war broke out the non-Serb peoples were generally anxious for a solution which would bring an end to the predominance of one group.

Only in this context is it possible to understand the complicated series of partisan fights which developed between 1941 and 1946. The country had Bolshevik partisans, Catholic partisans, Serb nationalists fighting with the Axis, Serb nationalists fighting independently of or against the Axis, Slovenes with the Italians, Slovenes against the Italians, each group hoping that a different alliance would effect the vindication of its particular aims. Villages and towns were raided and devastated by four or five different sets of partisans,* each terrorizing, torturing, and killing with vindictiveness and disregard for the laws of war possible only because of the traditions and experiences of the centuries. The German army and the Italian army swept the country, and the destruction was on a scale equal to that of the previous war. Economic life was disrupted as nowhere in Europe. Few were able to retain sufficient sense of objectivity to think of long-term effects, but the spiritual leaders of the Serbs, Croats, Slovenes, and other south Slavs recognized the danger of Soviet triumph and threw their weight with whatever forces promised to lessen this threat from the east.

The prewar constitution of Yugoslavia guaranteed full religious liberty and equal rights to all denominations. No other provision was politically practical in a country of so many different religions, and many of the country's difficulties could have been avoided if all elements had been willing to accept fully the implications of that guarantee. A concordat with the Holy See guaranteeing the rights of Catholics and giving them various privileges and protections was signed in 1935 and approved by the Lower House of Parliament in 1937. But the Orthodox opposition was so great that the Senate refused to confirm it. Its terms were, nevertheless, put into effect in Croatia and Slovenia.

For many centuries religion and nationality have been closely related in the Danube Basin. The political rivalry of Croats and Serbs could consequently without substantial distortion of perspective be described also in terms of the religious differences between Catholics and Orthodox and in terms of the clash between Byzantine culture and that of western Europe. As already indicated, this ever-present tension developed into open war in 1941, when puppet governments were formed under Axis tutelage. Not only were the country's material resources destroyed but a legacy remained of deep hatreds and scores to be settled. Much harm was done to religion in general and to the property and organization of the various denominations. Many priests and religious leaders were among the slain. A considerable proportion of these died because they supported their religious beliefs, but due to the anarchic conditions of those years and to the tenuous distinctions between regular soldiers obeying the instructions of their superiors and marauders or bandits acting on personal impulses, it is seldom possible to single out the motives for specific acts of violence or to distinguish the official from the unauthorized.

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* The three main groups of partisans were the Chetniks, the Titoists, and the Pavelic Ustachi, but there were many others.

Throughout all this gory confusion, the Vatican maintained great reserve, as it is wont to do while law is silent in the clash of arms. It continued to recognize the exiled government of Peter II until the hostilities came to an end, and it then transferred recognition to Tito's regime, which the western democracies in deference to Stalin's insistence had accepted in preference to Michailovich. But the Catholics inside Yugoslavia had to make practical decisions in the light of each day's changing demands. Within Croatia, they had no choice but to accept the separate state headed by Pavelic during the war. The Ustachi militia, imbued with the Nazi concept of racial superiority and with the Nazi attitude to ethnic minorities, acted with extreme cruelty to the Serbs in Croatia. But they reflected the views of not more than a tiny minority of Croats, and Archbishop Stepinac made clear from the outset his rejection of the racialist policy.

Stepinac, who was later to become one of the first of eastern Europe's religious leaders to experience the new methods of Communist justice, was (like Cardinal Mindszenty in Hungary) one of the common people. A Croat from the region of Koprivnica, he belonged to a rural middle-class family. His father was a grammar-school teacher. As a youth, he supported the movements for union of the south Slavs, and though a subject of the Austro-Hungarian Emperor, he enlisted voluntarily in the Serb army at Salonika when the Emperor declared war on Serbia, serving as a common soldier and later as an officer. Such action required courage and strong nationalist feeling, for the odds were all against what looked then and for several years afterward like a heroic but quixotic gesture by little Serbia against the might of the Hapsburgs.

After the triumph of the cause Stepinac had espoused and the realization of his dream of a united Yugoslavia, he entered a seminary and in due course became a priest. In the years between the wars he took no prominent part in political affairs, but like the vast majority of Croats he was extremely disappointed at the failure of Yugoslavia to develop along the lines which they had advocated and anticipated — as a federalist state which would allow each national group to handle its own local affairs and maintain its cultural identity. He became convinced that the Belgrade central government did not want a federation but a strong government controlled by the Serbs, which would eliminate Croatia and Slovenia as distinct national and cultural units. While he remained satisfied that a federation would work if the Serbs changed their views, he came reluctantly to the conclusion that in actual fact the Croats could survive only if they secured national independence with their own government and army.

He might, accordingly, have seen the fulfillment of this hope in the establishment in 1941–1942 of an independent Kingdom of Croatia under Ante Pavelic, friend of Mussolini. In any case, as Archbishop of Zagreb and spiritual leader of the Croats, he felt he should not oppose Pavelic unless compelled to do so, considering it his principal duty to stay with his people and save them from Communism. But he soon realized that Pavelic was making the same mistakes in an aggravated form which the Serbs had been making in Belgrade before the war. He condemned alike the persecution of the Jews and the anti-Serb policy as a violation of the natural rights of the Serbs. This was fully in keeping with his well-known previous sympathy for the Jews. Before the war reached Yugoslavia, he had set up a special office to help Jewish refugees from Austria and Hungary, working closely with Cardinal Innitzer of Vienna and Cardinal Seredi, Primate of Hungary. He also maintained a home for Jews on archdiocesan property.

When Pavelic's government issued a decree in 1941 suppressing the Orthodox Church in Croatia and directing that its members become Catholics, the conference of Croat bishops under the chairmanship of Archbishop Stepinac protested in the strongest terms against the decree as a violation of the natural right of every man to choose freely his religion as dictated by his own conscience. He ordered his clergy to proceed with extreme caution when members of the Orthodox Church asked to embrace Catholicism. Before they accepted anybody, they must satisfy themselves by exhaustive enquiry that they desired membership of their own free will and were not subject to any external constraint or duress. In the orphanage for Serbian children who had lost their parents, which he himself founded and financed during the war, he forbade all proselytism. The Archbishop declared that no government interference in church affairs was tolerable. He prohibited incorporating into the patrimony of the Catholic Church the nationalized properties of the dissolved Orthodox Church. This correctness, it may be noted in passing, contrasts most favorably with the later readiness of the Communist-dominated Orthodox Church in Rumania to cooperate in the forced "conversions" of Catholics of the Oriental Rite and to seize this denomination's property. Stepinac ordered his clergy not to observe the unjust laws. At least one of them (Dr. Loncar, canon of Zagreb) was condemned to death by the Pavelic regime in consequence.

These facts were well known at the time to the Communists who later denounced the Archbishop as a collaborationist and enemy of the people. They were glad to praise his stand as long as it suited them. Their clandestine radio quoted part of the sermon he delivered on the Feast of Christ the King in 1943, when he protested against the Pavelic persecution of Jews, Serbs, and Gypsies, and more generally against any persecution on religious or racial grounds, that is to say, against the crime now known by the name of genocide. His direct interventions saved the lives of many of those condemned to death.

In the following years, while the Pavelic regime was still in power, its control of Croatia was far from effective. Bands of terrorists and partisans, many of them Communist led, roamed the country and wreaked vengeance on their opponents and on the defenseless wives and children of their opponents. This state of affairs is reflected in a pastoral letter of the bishops' conference of Yugoslavia, March 1945, which protested not only against the violence of the Pavelic regime but also against the excesses of the partisans and in particular against their assassination of priests and religious leaders. Wherever the Communists took control, the pastoral said, civil marriage was made obligatory, religious instruction in the schools was threatened, church property was confiscated, and priests and faithful Catholics were murdered.

The Communists who had been praising Archbishop Stepinac's strong stand against Pavelic not very long before, reacted with typical vituperation when their own crimes were in turn protested. One of their spokesmen denounced the Archbishop in May as a war criminal, and the following month Tito made public the Communist plan to eliminate the Catholic Church from Yugoslavia by the creation of a Croat National Church which would reject all ties with Rome. First moves to implement this plan were not taken for another two years, but it was already clear that the Communists would not tolerate any organization that claimed the right to pass independent judgment or to criticize their actions.

The new constitution proclaimed by Tito emphasized the fact that Communism in Yugoslavia was going to be just as totalitarian as it was in Russia. It effected a complete separation of church and state, breaking up a traditional system which was not intended to benefit any one denomination at the expense of others, but to ensure that religion received in public life the honors and privileges to which the people believed it was entitled. It also declared the school to be separated from the church, denying to the churches either as institutions or as the delegates of the parents the right to maintain schools or to take any part in the educational process. The only exception was a toleration of seminaries under church control, and it was expressly stipulated that even this right could be exercised only subject to state direction. Tito's government, in implementing this constitution, prohibited all religious education in the schools.

There was, however, an immediate outburst of popular resentment. A demand was made on behalf of 98 percent of the population of Slovenia and of 99 percent of that of Dalmatia that religious instruction in the schools be restored. The government temporized by authorizing the setting aside of one school hour each week for those children whose parents made an express request. But other measures were soon taken to effect the desired object. In February 1947 all children whose parents had asked for religious instruction were excluded from the schools of Zagreb, Croatia. Other restrictions on religious observance included the declaration of Sundays as "voluntary" days for public works so as to prevent young people from attending mass. Many churches in Dalmatia were converted into government storehouses. Whole Catholic villages in Herzegovina were deported and their churches closed.

Discrimination against government officials who practiced their religion became such that it was morally impossible for them to continue. Officials who even allowed their children to be baptized were threatened with dismissal. All denominational schools, particularly numerous in Slovenia and Croatia, were closed or nationalized. The teaching of catechism to children was forbidden even in the church buildings. School children were incited to immorality in the youth groups, and school textbooks told them that they incurred no moral guilt in sexual intercourse. The bishops were compelled to liquidate all Catholic associations and organizations because members were being listed automatically as "suspects." The nuns were expelled from charitable institutions. Priests were condemned to long prison terms for refusal to reveal confessional secrets in court. Government decrees issued in 1946 and 1947 listed items which priests were forbidden to mention in the pulpit, including orginal sin, the creation of man, the Archangel Michael, and the flight into Egypt.

All education of youth passed to the state. Religious instruction was theoretically permitted if the parents asked for it, but it continued to be restricted by administrative action, such as that already mentioned in Zagreb, by holding up authorization for long periods. In the 1946–1947 school year, the authorization was released only in May 1947. In consequence, there was only a single month of religious instruction. Where schools were conducted by monks, they were forbidden to teach but were retained in their monasteries for household and auxiliary work. The Don Bosco Institute had 17 houses in Yugoslavia. All were closed. Monasteries and convents confiscated by the Nazis were not restored. The victims included the Ursulines, the Mercy Sisters and the Mercy Brothers, the Sisters of Notre Dame, and the Sisters of the Christian Schools. Additional monasteries and convents were sequestrated for the use of the army or of the Communist Party.

Nearly all church property, used to maintain the clergy and provide for divine service and charitable works, was confiscated. Usually the lands were cultivated by parishioners under a sharecropping arrangement which gave half of the produce to the farmer and half to the priest. Some few parishes were allowed to retain ten acres of land, but only a very small share of the proceeds was given to the priest. State subventions and ecclesiastical taxes were eliminated. The only voluntary contributions permitted were the offerings in the church during the celebration of mass, and even the uses to which they could be put were restricted. The priest and the church buildings were subjected to very heavy taxes, and whenever the taxes were not paid the buildings were confiscated.

In addition to these legal and administrative restrictions, a constant campaign of terror was maintained. By summer 1946, out of a total of 2,700 Croat priests, more than 400 had been killed, 200 had fled abroad, and several hundred were in jail. Of 22 Yugoslav bishops, three were in exile (Sarajevo, Ljubljana, Banjaluka), one had been assassinated (retired bishop of Dubrovnik), one had died of maltreatment in prison (Krizevci), one had been expelled from his see (Kotor) and was quartered at Dubrovnik. Sixteen were left, one of these retired, and two auxiliary bishops. They were subjected to constant vilification in the Communist press and severely restricted in their work. As examples of the methods pursued by the Communist authorities, Dr. Janko Arnjec, the Vicar of Ljubljana, was sentenced to five years in a penitentiary because he stated in the pulpit that a bishop who had been sentenced as a war criminal still remained a bishop and the faithful should pray for him. And on January 31, 1946, members of the Yugoslav state police shot and killed on the street Dr. Ivo Protulipac, a prominent Catholic youth organizer. Dr. Protulipac was also a well-known anti-Fascist and had had to flee to the west during the war to escape the Fascists.

Progressive restrictions were placed on the Catholic press and Catholic publishing houses, culminating in the nationalization of all Catholic publishing houses throughout Yugoslavia and the confiscation of the two Catholic dailies, eight weeklies, and 36 monthly reviews. Freedom of expression in a Communist state means freedom to express the official party line and no other point of view.

Archbishop Stepinac as head of the Catholic Church in Yugoslavia could no more remain silent in the face of these violations of fundamental human rights than he could when similar action had been taken previously by the other extremists. The Communists had decided by the middle of 1945 that he was their principal enemy, because he was determined to maintain the rights and dignity of the human being which they had to undermine and destroy if they were to establish a Communist society. They began with a smear campaign designed to isolate him and turn public opinion against him, describing him as a war criminal, a friend of the Nazis, a supporter of the Pavelic regime. They misrepresented his efforts to obtain justice for those whom Pavelic had persecuted as evidence of support of the Nazis and their doctrines. They ignored his public and fearless condemnations of the Fascist and totalitarian aspects of that regime which they had quoted and praised when it suited them. They ignored the fact that his brother had been killed as a Tito partisan during the war of national liberation.

The Archbishop was undeterred by their calumnies and threats. At Christmas 1945, when their antireligious and totalitarian program was taking clear shape, he said in a sermon: "Is it peace if great powers force their will upon minorities? Is it peace if one class arrogates to itself all the rights and leaves to the others nothing but the rights to a slow death? Is it peace if intellectuals, the clergy, city dwellers, or the peasants can be murdered in cold blood, against all law and justice, merely because they do not share the political convictions of those who are in power? The people of

Croatia reject such principles, which are contrary to the Catholic faith that has bound them together for a thousand years. We reject such principles whether they are professed by the extreme right or the extreme left."

For the Communists, it was a declaration of war. The Archbishop was arrested on charges of collaborationism. All the resources of the government were thrown into the campaign to blacken him and represent him as guilty before he was tried. Tito joined personally in the propaganda campaign. In speeches at Kranj and Zagreb he demanded that the Archbishop be found guilty as charged.

The "people's court" complied submissively with his orders, sentencing the Archbishop to 16 years' forced labor on the charges of collaborationism and opposition to the regime. He has since been confined in Lepoglava prison, which is the general prison for political offenders. The trial, like all political trials under the Communists, was held in circumstances that gave the accused no real opportunity to refute the charges, and it violated the fundamental principles of natural justice.

Before his sentence was announced, the Archbishop made a speech from the dock in which he reviewed the crimes, errors, and violations of human rights committed by the Tito regime.

"I repeat to all present: 260 to 270 priests have been assassinated. . . . You have committed a fatal error in assassinating these priests. The people will never forget.

"Our schools which we built with such sacrifices have been seized. The work of our seminaries has been made impossible. . . . Our orphanages cannot continue to exist. Our printing plants have been destroyed and I cannot say if even one survives. Our press, object of your many attacks, is no more. Is it not simply scandalous to claim that nowhere has the Church more liberty than here . . .? Our Society of St. Jerome has been disbanded. It is a serious offense against the people to deal in such a way with the greatest of our cultural institutions. . . .

"And how great are the difficulties which the hospitals conducted by our religious have to face . . .! Against the wishes of the overwhelming majority of the people you have introduced civil marriage. Why did you not respect the people's will . . . ? Buildings belonging to religious orders have been confiscated, churches turned into stores. . . . And worst of all, today no bishop or priest is sure of his life day or night. Bishop Srebrnic was assaulted by youths in Susak. . . . For at least three hours they illtreated him in his room, manhandling him in various ways. I experienced similar treatment at Zapresic. . . .

"In your schoolbooks you say Jesus Christ never existed. Know that Jesus Christ is God. We are ready to die for Him. . . . Concerning the Mother of God, your schoolbooks say she was a prostitute. . . . In your view, materialism is the only admissible scientific system. That eliminates God and Christianity. . . ."

Believing that where the people are devoted to religion, the best way to confuse them and break down their beliefs and practices is to get control of churches, the Communists in Yugoslavia as in other countries behind the Iron Curtain have tried to set up "national churches." These are regarded as particularly effective against Catholicism, because a "national church" denying allegiance to the Holy See becomes automatically schismatic. The state stimulation of "national churches" is also represented as a phase of the class struggle. Efforts are made to drive a wedge between the lower clergy and their superiors. Any priest who has a grievance against higher ecclesiastical authority is taken up as a patriot and a friend of the people. This approach was emphasized in the smear campaign preceding the Stepinac trial. In the same speeches at Kranj and Zagreb in which Tito called for Stepinac's condemnation, he urged the clergy to detach themselves from Rome and create a national church so that they could march with the people in the task of creating a "people's democracy." He himself would do everything in his power, Tito said, to effect this aim. From the beginning of 1947 great efforts were made to force both Catholics and Orthodox into this church, using as a nucleus the so-called Old Catholic movement. The Old Catholics resulted from a schismatic "reform" movement in Croatia headed by a one-time pastor of Split, Don Marko Kalodjera, with 14,000 followers. Tito commissioned him to head the "people's church." Catholic priests in prisons and internment camps were cajoled and threated to join the movement, but almost without any success. Some results, however, have been achieved among the adherents of the Orthodox Church.

The terror continued during 1948. Here are some examples. On Easter Sunday, in the town of Apatin, all the people who attended mass were ordered to the public works as they left the church. They were not even permitted to go home to change their clothes. Bishop Peter Cule of Mostar, the only remaining Catholic bishop in Bosnia, was arrested during the summer of 1948. In October a law was promulgated which directed that priests were bound to divulge confessional secrets when called upon by a law court, and were to be subjected to severe penalties if they refused. In November Bishop Santin of Trieste protested against persecution of religion in the Yugoslav section of Trieste. He said that antireligious propaganda was being spread on the radio, by means of public meetings, and through other publicity media. Education, he said, was completely dominated by Marxist-Leninist principles. During 1948, 40 priests, a bishop, and 19 nuns were jailed. The Dominicans of Zagreb and the Salesians and Carmelites of Ljubljana, as well as other religious communities, were expelled.

Although in Slovenia the Communists before the war claimed scarcely three percent of the staunchly Catholic people, they succeeded there as in the rest of Yugoslavia in eliminating those who opposed them from all public positions, carrying on an internecine war by murdering Slovenia's Catholic leaders in the towns and villages, and later attacking and burning whole villages and hamlets. This reign of terror was conducted by gangs of Communists brought in from Russia, Bulgaria, Albania, and other parts of Yugoslavia. The Catholic priests who stayed with their flocks were singled out for special attack. They were refused ration cards, so that since 1941 none of them could buy a single article of clothing. They were forbidden to teach, to enter a schoolroom, even to hold catechism classes in their churches or sacristies. The religious orders, Carmelites, Sisters of Notre Dame, and Sisters of Divine Providence had their monasteries, institutions, and property confiscated. the Trappists, Capuchins, Jesuits, Lazarists, Salesians, Ursulines,

The main brunt of the Communist attack on religion has been borne by the Catholic Church. In Yugoslavia, as in many other countries behind the Iron Curtain, it has been singled out as the principal enemy. But the Catholics were not the only sufferers. Other Christian bodies, as well as the Jews, were attacked wherever and whenever they sought to establish for themselves any sphere of activity not subject to Communist control. For Communism is all-devouring. It must absorb the citizen in his entirety — body, soul, and spirit. The consequence is that the situation of the various Protestant denominations in Yugoslavia is no better than that of the Catholics. Before the war, Protestants numbered 280,000 to 300,000. The Lutherans, with over 175,000 adherents, constituted the biggest group, a large proportion of them being Germans. Then came the Calvinists with about 60,000, nearly all Hungarians. There were some thousands of Methodists and small numbers belonging to other denominations. The German Lutherans have nearly all disappeared, leaving 75,000 Slovak Lutherans, 35,000 Wend Lutherans, and 3,000 Croat Lutherans. About 20,000 of the Hungarian Calvinists are missing, many have been killed, others expelled. In March 1949 the Lutherans established a theological seminary at Subotica, and the first classes were enrolled in August. As in Bulgaria and elsewhere, the Communists have laid down and are enforcing a policy for the Protestant bodies that they must sever all connections with the west. In February 1947 eighteen members of the Jehovah Witnesses were arrested and tried on charges of treasonable association with reactionary elements in foreign countries, particularly in the United States.

Rabbis were subjected to the same restrictions as other clergymen. All Zionist organizations were disbanded. Those Jews who could do so fled the country. By March 1950, ten thousand had departed, but emigration since then has been almost completely blocked. Not more than a few thousand Jews remain.

As for the Orthodox Church, while it also is subject to the same policy as the other churches, namely, that it will be tolerated only as long as it is willing to operate as a tool of the Communists, it has undergone several changes of relations with the Tito regime. When the regime first came to power, it was as enthusiastically pro-Soviet as any of the other Communist regimes behind the Iron Curtain, but at that time the Yugoslav Orthodox Church was firmly opposed to Communism and to the expansionist aspirations of the Communist-dominated Russian Orthodox Church. Nor had it forgotten the firm stand taken by Archbishop Stepinac and the other Croat Catholic Bishops on behalf of the Orthodox in Croatia in 1941, when the Pavelic regime decreed the suppression of Orthodoxy there and ordered its adherents to become Catholics. In consequence, when Patriarch Alexei of Moscow sent one of his bishops to Belgrade in 1946 to urge the Serb Orthodox leaders to join him in a condemnation of the Vatican's policy, especially in the aspects touching on conditions in Central Europe, the Serb Orthodox Church refused, through Metropolitan Josif, to do so, declaring that the past sufferings and problems had laid the foundations for friendly understanding and healthful cooperation between the Orthodox Church and the Catholic Church in Yugoslavia. This was amazingly independent action in a country which already knew the penalites one incurred by opposing the "wishes" of the Communists, and it illustrates graphically what a high regard Archbishop Stepinac had won not only among his fellow Croats but also among the Serbs for the stand he had taken while Pavelic was in power. The Orthodox Synod rejected at the same time a further proposal that the Serb Church should acknowledge the supremacy of Moscow and incorporate itself into Russian Orthodoxy.

The head of the Yugoslav Orthodox Church, Patriarch Gavrilo Docic, was still in exile when these events took place. He had been interned by the Nazis at Dachau, and on his release he made a strong protest against Tito's persecution of religion and assumed the leadership of the anti-Tito exiles. Patriarch Gavrilo was one of the most picturesque figures of modern Yugoslavia. A native of Montenegro and then nearly 70 years old, he was neither a very brilliant man nor an imposing orator. But he excelled as a mediator and negotiator. As Archbishop Stepinac represents one of the two types which developed in the course of the checkered history of the south Slavs, the fearless fighter who disregards the odds, Patriarch Gavrilo represented the second type, the Balkan conspirator who hides his secret convictions and waits for the time when he can strike a blow against an unsuspecting enemy. He had all the shrewdness of the peasant of the Montenegrin mountains among which he was reared. He was the politician par excellence, and during the twenty years preceding the second world war he ironed out all the serious difficulties and divergencies which had disturbed the Serb Orthodox Church. His open denunciation of Tito after his release from Dachau was not quite in character, but he was conscious of the strong anti-Communist feeling within Yugoslavia shared alike by the Orthodox Serbs and the Catholic Croats and Slovenes, and he never imagined that Tito would be able to impose by force a system so repugnant to peoples that had never yielded to tyranny.

In this attitude, he was supported by his lieutenants at home. At Easter 1946 his representative, the Metropolitan of Skoplje, and four other Orthodox leaders set out their grievances in a short pastoral letter. Tito's government, they said, was antireligious. It had separated church and state. It had eliminated compulsory religious education. It had made civil marriage obligatory. It had abolished chaplaincies in the army. It was giving all-out aid to the militant atheist organization and was itself engaged in propagating atheism. Gavrilo himself, from his exile, issued a similar pastoral letter at the same time. Tito's Yugoslavia, he said, has become the Golgotha of the Serb people.

Tito's reaction was to intensify the persecution. He had still the backing of the Soviet Union and he was confident that he could crush even the power of Gavrilo. He set out to disrupt the unity of the Yugoslav Orthodox Church, which embraced Serbs, Montenegrins, and Macedonians, and succeeded in getting various groups to secede and set up their separate autocephalous churches. Disorders and demonstrations were organized by Communist groups during divine services to try to create the impression that the rank and file of the Orthodox faithful were opposed to the policy of their bourgeois leaders. Large numbers of the Orthodox clergy were arrested and many were shot with or without trial. Property of the church was seized and other measures taken to cause financial embarrassment.

Since the Orthodox clergy marry and in consequence have family commitments, they are even more subject to financial pressure than are the celibate Catholic clergy. Bank accounts were frozen and what little property was not sequestrated was subjected to heavy taxation. The Orthodox community at Zagreb had in 1946 a monthly income of 100,000 dinars ($2,000) in rent from some apartment houses it owned. Taxes of 74,000 a month were assessed on this income. Since maintenance of the apartment houses cost 12,000 monthly, the whole Orthodox diocese of Zagreb was left with an income of only 14,000 dinars. Like the other churches, the Orthodox Church was prohibited from organizing collections or fund-raising drives. The theology faculties were separated from the universities, and the salaries and other costs of maintenance of these faculties – formerly borne by the universities – became an additional charge on the Church. Most of the seminaries had to be closed, principally for lack of funds. The result was that it has been impossible to replace the many Orthodox priests who died during the wars and disturbances of the past ten years. The Nazis alone executed some 700.

Moscow was not pleased with the widening rift between the Orthodox Church and Yugoslav state, since it ran counter to the general Communist policy of promoting the Orthodox churches in the puppet states as docile allies in the war against the Vatican and the west. Gavrilo was not slow to take advantage of this situation. Through the good offices of President Benes of Czechoslovakia, the representatives of the Moscow Patriarch who had failed in their direct negotiations with the Yugoslav Orthodox Synod were put in communication with Gavrilo in his place of exile at Karlovy Vary (Karlsbad), Czechoslovakia. Sensing an opportunity to turn the tables on Tito and get himself back into power, Gavrilo flew to Moscow, made his submission to Patriarch Alexei, and was received in audience by Stalin. The terms of Gavrilo's arrangement with Alexei and Stalin were never divulged, but it is clear that he made an offer acceptable to them, for he was escorted home to Belgrade by Russian officials and churchmen, although up to that time he had been leader of the anti-Tito exiles in central Europe.

Tito was caught unprepared. Up to a few days before the arrival of the mission from Moscow, Gavrilo had been the target of criticism in the controlled press, and widespread demonstrations against him were being organized. But Tito was not yet ready to challenge Moscow's orders. Gavrilo was made welcome. At the Pan-Slav Congress held at Belgrade in 1946 Gavrilo praised Stalin as the father of all Slav peoples and emphasized the traditional love and attachment of the Serb Orthodox Church for the Russians. About the same time, Gavrilo was installed as Patriarch of Belgrade. But his return did not bring about any basic change in the Communist plan to dominate the Yugoslav Orthodox Church. In April 1947 he protested publicly against the continuing attacks on religion. Orthodox bishops had been expelled from their dioceses, he said, church property and goods confiscated, and obstacles placed to the performance of the ritual and other church activities. In two years, 230 Orthodox priests had been killed. But as a general rule, Gavrilo avoided open criticism of Tito. He returned home because he thought he could match brains even with the Communists and felt that he could afford to compromise, without causing serious harm to his church, so long as he could retain the leadership.

Tito seemed to be prepared to go along with him on that basis, but in the meantime he continued to eliminate the more outspoken of his opponents among the Orthodox. In March 1948 Orthodox Bishop Vernava A. Nastitch of Sarajevo was condemned to eleven years of forced labor for "antinational activity." The specific charge against him was that he had criticized Communism in a sermon. Bishop Nastitch was born and got his early schooling in the United States, at Gary, Indiana. At nine he went to Serbia, where he later became an Orthodox priest and then bishop. Later in 1948 an Orthodox priest was sentenced to three years' imprisonment on charges of having praised the faith in a sermon and urged the faithful to contract religious marriages. Also in the early part of 1948 Orthodox Bishop Kajislav Nastic of Dobrobosna was sentenced to 11 years of forced labor. The charges against him were that he had advocated from the pulpit the overthrow of the government, and that he was a member of terroristic organizations.

These acts of terrorism formed part of the campaign to win adherents from among the Orthodox clergy for a Communist-directed organization founded in 1947 under Father Milan Smiljanic. Its purpose was the same as that of similar groups sponsored among Catholic priests in Yugoslavia and other satellites, namely, to have a "front" which could be used as the need arose to disrupt the unity of religion and make the bishops appear as reactionaries opposed by their own priests. At a meeting held in Belgrade in September 1949 in the presence of the high Communist leaders, it claimed the support of 60 percent of the Orthodox clergy of Serbia, a claim that must be treated with the greatest reserve. What is certain is that no Orthodox bishop joined. The bishops were no more anxious to sell out to Tito than they had been to support Moscow. Even after Gavrilo's return with the blessing of the Moscow Patriarch, his brother bishops were careful not to commit themselves, and the negotiations were interrupted by Tito's break with the Cominform. But after Gavrilo's death, as mentioned below, Tito found another way to enslave the Orthodox Church.

Tito's clash with fellow-dictator Stalin has not altered materially the attitude of the Yugoslav Communist authorities toward religion. Not only has the position in Croatia and Slovenia not improved as far as the Catholic Church is concerned, but many new restrictions have been imposed. The Christmas holiday has been suppressed as from 1948, citizens now being obliged to work on Christmas Day. Bishop Francis Cekada of Skoplje was expelled from the territory of Bosnia-Herzegovina, where he had been acting as apostolic administrator of Banjaluka diocese.* In November 1949 Monsignor Ivan Stjepcevic, acting for the Bishop of Kotor (Kotar), Montenegro, was given a prison sentence of six years. The following month, Monsignor Andrija Majic, acting for the imprisoned Bishop Peter Cule, was arrested. The Communists continued their program of elimination of the shrines and crucifixes which for centuries had been maintained by the people on the roadsides. Quarantine measures and restrictions on transport were introduced to prevent pilgrimages. In January 1950 it was reported that more than 500 nuns had been expelled from their convents, many of them being imprisoned and others put to work on the roads and in mines. Lampoons and cartoons ridiculing the Pope were published. During the Christmas season, Christmas trees and decorations were banned from the stores.

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* Bishop Cekada returned to Banjaluka in February 1951 but was again expelled a month later.

All through 1950 there was no change in these tactics. In June it was reported that two leading Jesuits were arrested after a very successful series of sermons. This was not the first attack on the Jesuits. The previous year eight of them had been given long prison terms for their active support of Catholic Action in Ljubljana. Jesuit property in that city was confiscated and their church was converted into a movie studio.

The former restrictions on contacts between bishops and their flocks were continued. Priests were not permitted to exercise their ministry without permission of the local authorities, and all kinds of pretexts were used to refuse or withdraw permission. Priests were forbidden to hear confessions or say mass in any parish except the one for which they had permission, and every violation was punished severely. No religious service can consequently be held in the many vacant parishes. Children who attended catechism classes were prevented from going to high schools or universities. The priests in very many cases were hindered from giving religious instruction in the schools, and the prohibition on giving religious instruction *except* in the schools was simultaneously maintained on the plea that adequate instruction in religion was being given in the schools. In September, many priests were called for military service, leaving further parishes vacant.

Neither was there any lessening of the restrictions on the religious press. Of the 150 Catholic newspapers and periodicals which existed before the war, only five remained in 1950, and most of these were permitted to appear only six times a year and at irregular intervals, their circulation severely limited by newsprint controls. Prayer books, catechisms, and religious books were practically unobtainable. Authority could be secured for the reprinting of only one prayer book.

Some of the dissatisfaction of the Orthodox Church with the situation came to light in June 1950 when Metropolitan Josif of Skoplje, aged 73, the acting head of the Orthodox, was arrested in connection with an alleged plot by King Peter II to overthrow

Tito. The Metropolitan was believed to have been interned in a monastery at Jitcha.

A couple of months later the press announced substantial concessions to different religious bodies. Four Lutheran churches were handed back by the government and allowed to reopen. This action came just before the arrival of a three-man delegation of Lutherans from the United States, and was widely believed to be a little window-dressing motivated by the need to allay United States public opinion in order to get United States loans and grants. In July, following the death of Patriarch Gavrilo, Vitentije was enthroned as head of the Orthodox Church. Vitentije is wholly subservient to the Communists, and the way was cleared for his appointment by the imprisonment of the acting head, Metropolitan Josif, mentioned above. Tito is now apparently satisfied that he has the Orthodox Church completely under control. As tokens of his favor, he handed back the Patriarchal Palace and Serbia's oldest theological seminary. Vitentije for his part, after Tito had called to visit him, announced that the dictator had promised that all issues between the government and the Orthodox Church would be settled in good will, adding: "Full religious freedom prevails all over the country."

But as far as the Catholic Church is concerned, there has been no relaxation. Archbishop Stepinac is still in prison. At various times there have been rumors that he would be released, and Tito told a representative of the *New York Times* in November 1950 that he might be removed to a monastery or allowed to leave the country, provided guarantees were given that he would never again function as a priest in Yugoslavia. When the same correspondent interviewed Stepinac, the Archbishop told him he was completely indifferent as to whether he was released or not, and added: "I am ready to die each day for the Church. The Catholic Church cannot be nor will it ever be the slave of any regime." The Archbishop said he received no newspapers and wrote no letters because they would be censored. He gets books, but they are carefully censored. Asked if he was well treated, he said: "There are some difficulties. It is better that I should not speak of it." Commenting on this interview, the Vatican newspaper *Osservatore Romano* said that the continuing anti-Catholic campaign of the Tito press showed that the regime's attitude to the Church and to religion remained as hostile as ever. The emphasis placed by the regime on Stepinac, the paper said, was to create the false impression that this was the core of all the troubles, when in fact it was but one manifestation.

Vatican radio reported in July 1950 that 1,950 priests had been killed or imprisoned since the Communists seized power, a further 400 exiled. Of these, 196 had been killed without trial, an additional 32 executed after summary trial by a people's court. Only in the Ukraine had a greater number of priests been killed or jailed. Earlier in the year Bishop Cekada of Skoplje and the apostolic administrator of Banjaluka diocese had been exiled, the administrator of Cattaro diocese sentenced to six years' imprisonment, and the administrator of Mostar diocese interned.

Taxes levied on religious rites and on the reception of the Sacraments since June 1949 aim at crippling religious observances. The tax amounts to 3,000 dinars ($60) for a baptism, 4,000 dinars ($80) for a confirmation, and 6,000 dinars ($120) for a church marriage. Since the average monthly salary of a civil servant is 2,500 to 3,000 dinars, the charge is almost out of reach for the middle classes and prohibitive for the peasants.

In the spring of 1951 it was reported that government spokesmen told a meeting of Yugoslav school teachers that "socialism" must launch an all-out struggle to wrest religious ideas from the minds of the young. Teachers must keep children from attending catechism classes and going to church. This follows the line laid down at the Popular Youth Movement session in December 1950, at which the Church was described as a principal enemy of youth. Teaching of catechism is prohibited both in churches and in schools in Bosnia-Herzegovina. The situation is similar in Slovenia and in most of Croatia. Only a few priests, mostly old, were among 31,000 prisoners amnestied for the New Year.

In the part of the Free Territory of Trieste controlled by Tito, the same policy is pursued as in the rest of Yugoslavia. This territory is under the jurisdiction of the United Nations, but Tito administers it according to his own pleasure. In the middle of 1949 Bishop Antonio Santin of Trieste protested against the failure of the Security Council to protect religious liberties. And again in May 1950 he repeated his appeal. He said that the elections of the previous month had been "prepared and carried out in an atmosphere of violence and threats"; that as a result of police beatings, some had died, hundreds had been injured, and many had been driven insane. The Communists had created a puppet opposition party so as to make world opinion believe there had been democratic elections, but Bishop Santin revealed the true position when he said: "I can affirm, because I have documentation in my hands, that this party was the creation of the Yugoslav police." No effective action resulted from his appeal, and the persecution continues in Trieste as in the whole of Yugoslavia.

8. *ALBANIA*

ALBANIA provides an excellent illustration of the complexity of national life in the Balkans. Her people speak a language related to the ancient Thracian and Illyrian. Their souls bear the imprint of civilizations thousands of years old. Their land was the battlefield of Romans and Greeks. Goths, Turks, and Huns invaded it. Though each left his mark, none destroyed the distinctive character of the Albanians. Not indeed biologically but at least spiritually they continued to exist as a separate race, clinging to their traditions and becoming neither Slav nor Latin. The modern tradition of the Squipetars nation is a clearly Christian one, with Scanderbeg (hero of a Longfellow poem) as their great leader in the struggle against the Turks. Scanderbeg – his real name was George Castriota – is as important in Balkan history as is Bolivar in South America. But Scanderbeg, despite the heroism of his people, was no more able to halt the Turks than were other Balkan leaders, and his country remained under Ottoman rule from the end of the fifteenth century until 1912, when it became independent. As with other Balkan peoples, so with the Albanians the fight against the Turks was the most important experience of all their history up to the imposition of a Communist tyranny in the past five years.

National states are new in the Balkans as they are new in the whole of Europe. The state was not defined in nationalistic terms, that is to say, in accordance with the desires, wishes, and impetus of one determined race or people. Nor did a national language constitute a determining factor of a nation. Belonging to a nation rather meant the sharing of a common history and fidelity to a particular dynasty. There were not present the tendencies found in all modern states to wipe out the languages and customs of minority groups and impose a single national language as a mark of belonging. In medieval Europe people speaking entirely different languages often claimed equal participation in a given nation.

At times the Albanians had their own state, at other times they were forced into partnership in bigger political units. But they did not lose their separate characteristics, their sense of forming a distinct community or nation. This feature and the mountain ranges that imposed geographical separateness protected their spirit. In addition, they lived under almost unending challenge. That was true of all Balkan peoples, subject to never-ending strains and stresses in the perpetual contest of east and west, so that they developed a protective dynamism which might paradoxically be termed an offensive defensiveness. But it was more true of the Albanians and of their Macedonian neighbors than of any other Balkan peoples.

When the fight against the Turks came to a successful end, this attitude of offensive defensiveness persisted. The great powers saw benefits in a buffer state between Greece and the Austro-Hungarian Empire, and accordingly an independent Albania came into existence in 1912 under a foreign prince. But this arrangement did not bring true peace. From outside there was continual pressure, and within was a restlessness and lawlessness explicable in terms of historical experience. The law of vendetta was universal in the Balkans and common elsewhere in the Mediterranean, as a consequence of a fighting tradition and an exalted sense of honor which tolerated no slightest offense, a source of discord and bloodshed from generation to generation. Because of such internal disturbance, combined with the extreme poverty of a country undeveloped because of fights with the Turks, there were in Albania few cultural institutions. This does not mean that the Albanians were illiterate savages. Thanks to their contacts with great civilizations, they had a traditional culture expressing itself in a rich folklore and in basic human virtues. They were deeply romantic. Poverty and war did not destroy in them high ideals. They were convinced and still remain convinced that their historical ideals are more important than momentary material advantages, and that in the long run it is better even from a material viewpoint to endure than to surrender.

Though Christian and European in their outlook and civilization, the greater number of Albanians are today Moslem in religious profession as a result of the centuries of incorporation in the Turkish Empire. Of the population of 1,100,000 recorded in 1938 in the 10,269 square miles which formed the territory of the republic, Moslems constituted 69 percent, Orthodox 20.7 percent and Catholics 10.3 percent. The Italian census of 1942 listed the Catholics as 113,897.

The revival of Catholicism in Albania, crushed at the time of the Turkish invasion and occupation, is due particularly to the work of the Franciscans of Scutari, who were joined early in the last century by the Jesuits. Catholics organized the first primary and secondary schools in the country and introduced the first printing presses. The first periodical in Albania was issued by the Jesuits in 1891, and both Jesuits and Franciscans were pioneers in the production of magazines, newspapers, and books.

The Catholic revival gained new impetus when restrictions imposed by the Turkish Empire were removed on the declaration of independence. In 1938 there existed a Franciscan Lyceum, a Jesuit Institute, a training college for woman teachers, elementary schools, and a children's home with more than 1,000 interns. Salesians and Italian Conventuals had joined the other two orders in their religious and social work. Native vocations to the priesthood began to flourish after the first world war. The Catholic Church, directed by an apostolic administrator, was organized into the archdioceses of Durasso and Scutari and the dioceses of Alessio, Pulati, and Sappa. In 1939 there were 141 native and 62 foreign priests; 16 native and 16 foreign brothers, and 73 native and 60 foreign sisters.

In November 1944, after the withdrawal of German and Italian troops, the "Anti-Fascist Council" in the Berat Proclamation guaranteed freedom of cult and a free press. But persecution of Catholics soon began as the Communist elements became firmly established in power. Charges of collaborationism and Fascism were framed against many members of the clergy. Although the Franciscans had lived and worked in Albania since the lifetime of St. Francis of Assisi, the Jesuits since 1812, and the St. Vincent nuns since 1919, it was represented that the majority of the Catholic clergy were Italians who had entered the country since it had been occupied by Mussolini in 1939, and that consequently they should all be expelled.

Scutari became the center of the persecution, which opened with elaborate searches of religious houses and the seizure of Catholic printing establishments early in 1945. Shortly afterward all Catholic organizations were suppressed. The expulsion of all Franciscans and Jesuits was ordered, and many were killed. Among those killed were the superior of the seminary of Scutari and the Jesuit Provincial. Many diocesan priests were arrested. Children's homes under Catholic control were closed in May 1945, and Catholic orphanages were placed for a time under the control of a Moslem youth organization. The new directors were extremely offensive to the Catholic nuns, who were allowed to perform only menial tasks in the orphanages. After some time, the nuns were expelled.

Even before the Jesuits and Franciscans were expelled, Communist instructors had been appointed in the Jesuit Institute at Scutari in 1945 and began to propagate atheism in the classes. Fathers Gardin (an Italian) and Vata were arrested because they took part in discussion of this atheistic propaganda. They were sentenced to six years and 16 months of forced labor, respectively. During 1945, 80 Catholic leaders were either murdered or sentenced to death by "people's courts." And although the new constitution, like Communist constitutions in the other puppet states behind the Iron Curtain, guarantees liberty of cult, all non-Albanian members of the religious orders have been expelled.

The Papal Representative, Monsignor Nigris, went to Rome in March 1945 on the request of the Tirana government to obtain recognition for the regime from the Vatican. He has since been unable to reenter Albania. Under various pretexts he was immediately expelled on two occasions when he landed at Tirana's airport.

By the autumn of 1946 only two Catholic priests were left in Durasso. They were – and still are – allowed to say only one mass on weekdays and two on Sundays. The Archbishop's house in Durasso was taken over as a refugee center. The Jesuit monastery at Tirana was converted into a Communist propaganda office and a rest center for the Communist organization known as Anti-Fascist Youth. By the end of 1946, while the Orthodox and Moslems still received certain state subsidies, all the property of the Catholic Church had been seized, including the houses of the religious orders. In summer 1947 the Education Minister ordered that a new system of education based on Leninist-Marxist principles be introduced and taught in all schools. Religious instruction was simultaneously abolished in all schools. In 1948 they were nationalized. Nuns have been driven from their cloisters and forced to go home to their families.

By 1950 not a single Catholic bishop was left. Archbishop Nicola Vincenco Prennushi of Durasso, who had received a 20-year sentence in 1948, had died in prison. Archbishop Gaspar Thaci of Scutari had died in 1946, and it had been impossible to name a successor. Bishop Francis Ghini of Alessio and Bishop George Volaj of Sappa had been executed by the Enver Hoxha regime in 1948. Bishop Bernardino Shlaku of Pulati, aged 75, after arrests and interrogations had been forced to retire to live with relatives and was under constant pressure to set up a national church. Very many, probably by far the greater number, of priests and religious had been shot, jailed, or inducted into the army. Franciscan students and seminarians had been sent back to their homes. Italian priests and nuns had been expelled. The seminary, convents, orphanages, and other charitable institutions had been closed. Nor was the persecution confined to the Catholics. Orthodox Archbishop Christopher Kissi of Tirana was deposed in August 1949 because he opposed union with Moscow. Two weeks later the Albanian Orthodox Church submitted to the Moscow Patriarchate.

In March 1951 the Vatican radio said that there were 120 Catholic priests in Albania when the Communists seized the country, that 40 of these have since been shot without trial, that another 30 are known to be in prison and exposed to the "worst tortures." Only a few old priests are allowed to carry on their priestly duties. It added that Bishop Bernardino Shlaku of Pulati is under strictest house arrest and that people trying to visit him have been arrested.

9. *THE BALTIC STATES*

AT first glance the small nations of central Europe from the Baltic to the Adriatic and Black Sea seem to be characterized by differences of race and language. Yet there is a remarkable spread of community of background, culture, and interest among all of them, based on their historical experience and their common participation in the culture of Rome and Greece as transmitted to them through Christianity. Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia illustrate many of the similarities. Their ancient culture shines even through their languages. That of Lithuania is the closest to the primary Indo-European tongue, close kin of Sanskrit. The Estonians linguistically are cousins of the distant Hungarians and brothers of the Finns, their language belonging to the same Finno-Ugrian family.

The three Baltic States, Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia, are the most shining example of Europe's essential spirit. Despite their numerical insignificance, and despite the unending pressures from their neighbors, they were always able to maintain their national identities. The credit for this cultural achievement is not theirs alone. It must be shared with their adversaries, who in power and in victory always retained enough of the essential human virtues to stop short of annihilation. Genocide is a new word in Europe, because it represents a new wickedness. Even Genghis Khan used the sword only in the heat of conquest and battle.

It remained for a Lenin and a Hitler and a Stalin to plot in cold blood the mass destruction of subject and powerless peoples, powerless except in the strength of their spirit, whose submission could be achieved only in the empty obeisance of death.

Thus the Lithuanians, who were once the center of a great medieval empire, whose royal families gave rulers to Poland and Hungary, who fought against Russians, Poles, and Germans, these Lithuanians as well as their Latvian and Estonian neighbors retained their ancient languages and their distinctive cultures into the twentieth century, when they emerged once again as independent republics in the European comity of nations. Even among the peasant peoples of Europe, all of whom until comparatively recently kept a rich folk culture, these nations were noted for the wealth of their folklore. The myths, tales, and fairy stories, which go back through thousands of years to Indian prototypes, remained as a living bond, a basis of literature, an inspiration in spiritual and intellectual life. They preserved their differences and their similarities. From medieval times they maintained close cultural ties with western Europe through the Catholic Church and later also through the Protestant denominations. These contacts helped to rally them during the long periods of political domination and cultural pressure of Czarist Russia. During the centuries of this struggle, they developed a strong national spirit and will to survival. Under foreign domination, the spirit of these people found refuge in the family, and expression in their wonderful popular choirs. Together with a sense of independence they developed a love for democracy and learned the importance of respecting the rights of others. When Estonia became independent, she drew up a statute defining the rights of her own minorities which in the years between the wars served as a model for similar legislation proposed to other countries by the League of Nations.

With the establishment of Catholicism in Lithuania in the fourteenth century came popular education. Churches, monasteries, and schools were opened to train priests, and the priests in turn instructed the laity. The first books were religious in character. Lithuanian missionaries preached the gospel as far away as China. Between 1793 and 1918 there was strong pressure on all the Baltic peoples to embrace Orthodoxy, the state religion of the Czarist Empire, and all other religions were subjected to vexatious restrictions. But the Baltic peoples maintained their conscientious beliefs tenaciously.

The Lithuanian constitutions of 1922, 1928, and 1938 proclaimed equality of citizens before the law, guaranteed freedom of religious belief and of conscience for all, and directed that no special privileges be granted by the state and that no restrictions be imposed because of race, creed, or nationality. Compulsory religious instruction was established for all schools, the only children excepted being those whose parents belonged to no religious organization. It was provided that children receive their religious instruction in accordance with the requirements of the denomination to which they belong. Private religious schools complying with the minimum educational program prescribed by law were declared eligible to subsidy from the state education budget in proportion to the numerical strength of the denomination conducting the schools.

All denominations were authorized to publish their doctrines and practice their cults, to establish and manage churches, schools, charitable institutions, convents, and other buildings. Spiritual advisers were exempted from military duties. Sundays and other recognized holy days were protected as days of rest and spiritual duties. Persons in hospitals, jails, and other public institutions were declared entitled to reasonable opportunity to perform their religious duties. Relations were established with the Holy See shortly after the state was set up in 1918. A concordat was signed in 1927. The salaries of bishops and their assistants, of priests engaged in parish work, and of chaplains in the army and navy and in charitable and penal institutions were paid by the state. Churches, monasteries, and similar buildings were exempted from taxation. Building materials for churches were given free or at a reduced rate. The 1939 budget allocated 1,700,000 litas (the litas equaled 0.10 of a gold dollar) to all the denominations. Of this sum, Catholics received 1,400,000 litas; Protestants, 115,000; Jews, 105,000; Orthodox, 60,000; and Moslems, 3,000. This division was in proportion to the numerical strength of each.

Latvia's new constitution, after it declared itself an independent republic in 1918, guaranteed freedom of religious belief and practice. It was provided that any 50 Latvians had the right to incorporate a denomination or congregation, and ten congregations sufficed for a national religious association. Such self-governing religious bodies were accorded certain public rights, such as the right to perform marriage ceremonies, christenings, and baptisms, to levy voluntary taxes on their members, to establish churches, cemeteries, and schools, to own buildings and printing presses. The Department of Cults in the Ministry of the Interior supervised the application and fulfilment of the law, and acted as arbiter in disputes between the denominations about physical assets or material affairs. This department was helped and advised by a council consisting of representatives of all registered denominations. Denominational schools, seminaries, and other educational establishments were subsidized by the state and supervised by the Department of Education. The Catholic and Lutheran theological faculties, like the state university, were autonomous. The state provided the funds to maintain them. The state also subsidized poor parishes. Each registered denomination, as a juridic person, could hold property, perform its religious rites and ceremonies openly, propagate its teachings, make final judgments on spiritual matters, determine the curriculum of its religious instruction, appoint teachers of religion, and supervise their performance of their duties.

The concordat signed by Latvia and the Holy See in 1922 was the first postwar concordat and served as model for many others. It gave the Catholic Church legal personality and provided for an archbishopric at Riga. The Archbishop was to be nominated by agreement between the Vatican and the government, and he would appoint priests as provided by Canon Law. The concordat recognized the rights of the Church to maintain schools and associations, and it provided for the creation of a Catholic seminary (which later became the Catholic theological faculty at Riga University). It recognized the Church's right to hold property and granted tax exemption for church buildings, the seminary, and residences of the Archbishop and priests. It declared that the decisions of the church courts were not subject to review by the civil courts.

Estonia's prewar constitution, like those of her neighbors, guaranteed freedom of religious belief and practice for all citizens.

When the Baltic States recovered their independence in 1918 and the restrictions previously imposed by the Russians on the free practice of religion were withdrawn, the Catholics and Protestants immediately set about organizing themselves in the social, educational, and cultural spheres, and within a short time there was a remarkable flourishing of intellectual and spiritual life.

By June 1940 in Lithuania there were two Latin Catholic archdioceses and four dioceses, a Catholic archbishop and bishop of the Oriental Rite, 1,646 diocesan priests, 1,586 monks and nuns, 800 parishes, 1,202 churches, a faculty of philosophy and theology at Kaunas State University, 470 divinity students, and four theological seminaries. There was an average of one church for every 2,310 Catholics and of one priest for every 1,688 Catholics. The Lutheran Church in Lithuania had 18 pastors and 51 church buildings, as well as a faculty of philosophy and theology at Kaunas State University. The Calvinists had 12 parishes and seven pastors.

Lithuanian Catholic lay organizations, religious, religious-cultural, and religious-fraternal, had 800,000 members in 1940. The cultural and fraternal organizations had educational, charitable, and other social objects, such as operating schools, lecture courses, hospitals, orphanages, asylums, halls, libraries, theaters, trade schools, and homes for the aged. Many of these activities were subsidized by the state. They included the Catholic Action Center, which published a weekly paper with a circulation of 70,000; a youth federation with 85,000 members, principally in rural areas; a federation of high-school and university students, which published a monthly review and the country's biggest daily paper *Dvideshimtas Amzkius* (*Twentieth Century;* 36,000 circulation); the Lithuanian Council of Catholic Men with 30,000 members; the Lithuanian Council of Catholic Women with 60,000 members, which published a popular magazine *Women*; the St. Casimir Press Society, which published millions of copies of pamphlets, books, and magazines; the St. Vincent de Paul Society; the Child Jesus Society, and the Angels Sodality for children. The Catholic press included three dailies, 17 weeklies, and seven monthlies. Five Catholic publishing houses issued three to four hundred books yearly. The Christian Democratic Party was the most influential in the country. In each of four elections held during the life of the republic, it polled 48 percent of the total votes cast. And one of the greatest accomplishments of independent Lithuania was the Agrarian reform effected by a priest, Father M. Krupavicius, who was a member of the Christian Democratic Party and Minister of Agriculture.

In Latvia the Protestant Church was organized under an archbishop. In 1940 it had 311 congregations and 280 pastors. Societies for home and foreign missions were functioning, the foreign mission field being British India. Its Christian Youth organization had 120 units with 250 leaders. It published six official periodicals, and its publishing house also produced a steady flow of religious books.

The Catholics of Latvia, though numerically much fewer than the Protestants, were not less active. In conformity with the concordat of 1922, the thirteenth-century cathedral of St. James was turned over (following a plebiscite which approved of the proposed action) to the Catholic Archbishop as his cathedral. Legal restrictions imposed by the Czarist regime had left the Catholics without any schools, associations, or press, and they were also seriously short of priests. But they undertook the task of rebuilding their shattered organization with enthusiasm. Marian Fathers founded a house in 1923, to be followed by Sisters of the Poor Child Jesus (from Holland), Capuchins (from Bavaria), Sisters of the Holy Cross (from Switzerland), and Jesuits. Sisters of the Sacred Heart, who had been working in secret in Czarist times, established themselves openly. A printing house was started in 1921. In 1937 a second diocese was created.

Though the Catholics were a minority, they were welcomed in public life, and members of the clergy made an important contribution to the development of free Latvia. The Catholic high schools quickly acquired an excellent reputation. Auxiliary Bishop Josef Rancans was for years Vice-President of the Parliament, and Bishop J. Camanis was Assistant Minister of Education. Catholic organizations flourished. Both Catholics and Protestants played a leading part in the production of books and newspapers. Between two and three times as many books per head of population were produced as in England, France, or Germany. By 1940 there were 184 Catholic parishes and branch parishes, 187 priests, and 60 students of theology. Lay organizations included the Association of Latvian Catholic Youth, the Union of Latvian Catholic Youth, the Youth Association called "Klints," and two associations of Catholic students. There were two Catholic weeklies and five monthlies.

In September–October 1939, just after partition of Poland by Germany and Russia, the Soviets demanded military bases in the Baltic States. The Soviet occupying authorities shortly insisted that governments friendly to Russia should be installed. Effective measures were taken to ensure that Communists and sympathizers should get the majority of votes at the ensuing elections conducted according to a pattern now familiar. Leaders of the opposition parties, including prominent Catholics and Protestants, were imprisoned, and the organization of these parties was smashed up. This was followed immediately by attacks on all religious denominations except the Orthodox Church. The Orthodox Church, which was the religion of only a very tiny minority of the people of the three Baltic States, and most of whose adherents were not Balts by ethnic origin but Russians and Byelorussians settled there under the Czarist regime, was the only favored church. Orthodox Archbishop Sergius became a collaborator with the Russians when practically the entire population, including those of the Orthodox faith, was hostile to them and hundreds of thousands took refuge in the woods to fight as guerrillas. Sergius later collaborated with the Gestapo, and he was killed under doubtful circumstances.

In October 1940 Soviet Deputy Minister of the Interior Gladkov instructed his police that the Lithuanian Catholic Church was anti-Soviet in its policy as communicated by Auxiliary Bishop Brizgis to his priests. The Church, he said, tried in every way to hold youth. The police were to make a detailed dossier on every priest. Suitable agents should be recruited to keep them informed of what priests were doing and also help them sow dissension among the people. Monks should be hired for espionage, bearing in mind that many of the clergy were in circumstances of poverty and consequently amenable to bribes.

All social and cultural organizations of both Catholics and Protestants were suppressed on the ground that they endangered the safety of the state. Their property was seized and most of it turned over to the Communist Party and its affiliates. Such newspapers and magazines as were not suppressed were converted into Communist organs. Stocks of religious books were confiscated and destroyed. All religious books in schools and libraries were likewise destroyed. The concordats with Lithuania and Latvia were denounced. All chaplaincies in the armed forces and in public institutions were abolished, and salaries paid to bishops and clergy were stopped. All church land was confiscated. The Church was declared separated from the state and the school from the Church.

As in Russia itself, freedom of "passive worship and active antireligious propaganda" was proclaimed. All religious instruction in the schools was abolished and the antireligious propaganda was introduced into the curricula. The policy with regard to the clergy was to isolate them rather than purge them. An order of October 1940 placed all priests "under formal control." An order of April 1941 forbade all clergymen to give children any religious instruction anywhere at any time, and members of the clergy were forced to sign a form acknowledging that they had so been ordered. The religious orders were declared suppressed. The theological faculties of the state universities were closed, and their libraries, museums, and archives were confiscated. All church buildings were declared nationalized, and many churches were converted into atheistic museums, movie houses, recreation centers, or Red army clubs. One church at Liepaja (Libau) in Latvia became a circus. Only a small number of churches were left open for divine services, and exorbitant taxes were imposed on the parishes, the rent on a church being fixed at ten times the rent on equivalent housing space. Many bishops and clergymen were ejected from their parish houses.

Toward the middle of 1941, when mass deportations of Lithuanians, Latvians, and Estonians to the Soviet Union began, the persecution of the churches was stepped up. Many bishops and clergymen, including several Jewish rabbis, were jailed, tortured, put to hard labor in slave camps, or deported. In Latvia 41 clergymen were killed or deported to Russia, or disappeared. The Apostolic Nuncio to Latvia was expelled. Baptisms, church marriages, and church funerals were forbidden to members of the Communist Party and of trade unions, and to their families. Churchgoers were reported to the police. Distorted reports on sermons were published in the controlled press, and the organs of public opinion were used to vilify religion. The denominations were forbidden to engage in social-welfare activities. Communications between the heads and members of the denominations were made difficult. No compensation was paid for seized property, all subsidies were withdrawn, fund-raising committees were prohibited, and collections were restricted.

Churchgoers were barred from promotion in their jobs. Suspension of work on special religious holidays was forbidden. State offices and nationalized enterprises introduced Sunday work for their personnel. No replies were permitted to distortions and misstatements about religion issue by the controlled press and radio. Pastors and other church servants might not be employed by institutions and enterprises financed or controlled by the state, and they were made ineligible to receive state pensions. Pastors and teachers of religion were dismissed from the schools, and they were not allowed to take any kind of employment unless they abandoned their church work. Teachers at the suppressed theology faculties of the universities were dismissed, and they were denied pensions from the fund to which they had made monthly pension contributions. Students of the theology faculties were not allowed to enroll in other faculties of the universities. Church pastors and servants had to pay a double rental for their dwellings. The clergy were prevented from ministering to prisoners, even to those condemned to death who asked for a priest or parson. The sick in hospitals were not allowed to summon a clergyman. Chapels in hospitals and prisons were closed. Soviet holidays were substituted for the suppressed religious holy days. The Christian form of oath was abolished in the courts. Crucifixes were replaced by Soviet emblems in the courts, schools, and hospitals.

The clergy were vilified as parasitic consumers of food, slave drivers of the people, and enemies of the Soviets. All their relief funds were appropriated, and the pensions of invalids and of those who had retired from the ministry in their old age were stopped. Soldiers were forbidden to attend church, while civil servants and workers were warned against attendance. Lectures and meetings were arranged for them at church time on Sundays, with dismissal for failure to attend. Evangelical churches were converted into dance halls and storage rooms. Wayside crosses and other emblems were destroyed.

With the outbreak of the German-Soviet war, attacks on the clergy were intensified. Fifteen Lithuanian priests were murdered and twelve others were deported to Russia. Only two of these succeeded in escaping. In the 20 months of the first Soviet occupation, the number of Protestant pastors ministering to parishes in Latvia fell from 280 to 166. During this period, some 40,000 Lithuanians, 36,000 Latvians, and many thousands of Estonians were deported to Soviet Russia. The élite of all three Baltic States were selected for liquidation so as to ensure the complete disappearance of these countries as distinct cultural entities.

Great numbers of army officers were slaughtered. They included more than 1,000 Latvian army officers, the bodies of between three and four hundred of whom were found in a mass grave on the Latvian-Lithuanian border in 1942. The hands and feet of many of the victims were bound with barbed wire. V. Litaunieks, a 41-year-old Latvian Catholic priest, had a cross branded with a red hot iron on his chest and a wreath of barbed wire placed around his head before he was shot. Paskevics, the Catholic dean of Mezhvidus in Latvia, was skinned alive before being murdered. Many women and children were barbarously slaughtered. A Swiss newspaper correspondent reported from Riga that he had seen 160 dead children locked in a freight car where they had been abandoned by the retreating Russians. These deportations and killings were in execution of a plan secretly circulated in 1939 by Serov, Soviet Vice-Commissar of Public Security, designed to exterminate the Baltic nations and settle Russians in their lands.

The Lithuanians, Latvians, and Estonians proclaimed their independence once again and set up their own governments as the Russians prepared to withdraw before the advancing Germans in summer 1941, but the Nazis immediately suppressed these governments and introduced a German administration backed by military force. The Lutheran Church had practically ceased to exist in Lithuania with the transfer of the population of German ethnic origin under an agreement between the Nazis and the Soviets during the previous year. But in Latvia the Protestant Church during the transition period declared its return to its previous legal status, regained its legal rights and property, and took back church buildings, cemeteries, parsonages, and church land. The Nazis did not at first raise any objection to this restoration. But as far as the Catholics were concerned, they retained all the restrictive measures introduced by the Communists, with the sole exception that they allowed religious instruction.

During the Nazi occupation, 220,000 of Lithuania's 240,000 Jews perished, 85,000 of Latvia's 95,000, and a large proportion of Estonia's small Jewish community. Others were carried off as slave labor by Germans and Russians, so that today there are only about 3,000 Jews in Lithuania, 1,000 in Latvia, and 500 in Estonia. Like Herod, the butchers gave first attention to young children, so that by 1945 there was scarcely a Jewish child under ten in the Baltic States or indeed in any part of central Europe. The Nazis also gradually issued decrees restricting the rights of the Protestants and enabling the Nazis to control all the activities of their churches.

During the German retreat, three Catholic bishops, four prelates, 27 priests, and 10,000 Catholics were deported from Latvia to Germany for forced labor. The Lutheran Archbishop and other Lutheran and Orthodox leaders were also carried off. Many of these deportees, including Catholic Bishop Josef Rancans, who for years had been Deputy President of Latvia's Parliament, were leaders of the people's resistance movement against the Nazis.

The advancing Soviet troops continued the destructive work of the retreating Nazis. Churches were dynamited and priests and pastors slaughtered. Deportations of religious leaders to Soviet Russia were resumed. After the capitulation in 1945 about 150,000 Latvians and tens of thousands of Lithuanians and Estonians were deported. Of 96 Protestant clergymen still in Latvia in 1945, 10 had been deported in 1948, four imprisoned, 10 had died, and six were missing.

Lithuania has suffered six waves of mass deportations since the second Soviet occupation: In July–September 1945, February 1946, July–December 1947, May 1948, March 1949, and June 1949. In addition to these mass deportations, between two and three thousand people have been deported every month as a result of individual arrests. Between 1944 and 1947 in Lithuania alone, the Soviets murdered 30,000 people, deported 120,000 to Soviet Russia and Siberia, and expatriated a further 180,000 to Poland and other countries. Very high proportions of the deportees were children under the age of 17. They also included many university professors, writers, journalists, and other intellectuals. Forty percent of the priests were deported.

The previous antireligious laws were restored to full vigor immediately by the Communists when they returned, and new steps were taken to complete the elimination of religion. The leaders of the Lutheran Church in Latvia, who had been appointed by the Archbishop before the Nazis carried him off and who had been confirmed in office by the Supreme Board of the Church, were discharged from their posts and arrested. Soviet nominees replaced them; heading them as President of the Church and acting Archbishop was G. Turss, a one-time pastor who had been suspended from office for immoral behavior. In 1947 a permit to celebrate Christmas was refused.

No seminary or institution to train pastors or church servants is permitted, all theological seminaries in the three countries having been suppressed in September 1947. Russians have been placed in the principal government posts, especially in those controlling education and propaganda. Communist orientation has been accelerated in the schools, and gangs of "liquidators" have been formed to seize all religious property and organizations. From the beginning of 1948 Soviet-appointed pastors have filled all vacancies in all three countries in both Catholic and Protestant parishes. The people believe that these are not properly ordained priests or parsons but Communist officials. These appointees make

Communist and pro-Soviet propaganda in the pulpit, over the radio, and in domestic and foreign publications. Pastors who resist or object are deported. And when a pastor disappears by deportation or otherwise, one of these replaces him "by popular demand."

The fate of the 13 Catholic archbishops and bishops who were living in Lithuania in 1939 was reported in 1950 to be as follows: Catholic Bishop Bucys of the Oriental Rite went to Rome during the war. One bishop died during the German occupation and three were deported to Germany. Of the eight bishops remaining in Lithuania at the second Soviet occupation in 1944, six had died: Archbishop M. Reinys of Vilna, Bishop V. Boresivicius of Telsiai, Bishop Casimir Paltarokas of Panevezys, and Bishop T. Matulionis, Archbishop Karevicius, and Bishop Karosas. All but the last two died in prison. Archbishop Jalbrzykowski was transferred with 178,000 Poles to Poland, and Bishop F. Ramauskas was in a slave-labor camp. There was consequently no longer a single bishop at liberty in Lithuania. Archbishop Edward Profittlich, Apostolic Administrator of Estonia, Bishop Anthony Urbsis of Liepaja, Latvia, and Auxiliary Bishop Josef Rancans of Riga, Latvia, were likewise no longer able to perform their duties and were believed to be in prison. The *Annuario Pontificio* for the year 1950 listed them as "impeded."

The following figures sum up the losses inflicted on the Catholic Church in Lithuania between 1939 and 1948. Of 14 archbishops and bishops, one was left; of 1,646 priests, 400; of 1,586 monks and nuns, none; of 1,202 church buildings, 60; of four theological seminaries, none; of 470 students of theology, none; of 800,000 members of religious sodalities and fraternities, none; of 200 religious periodicals, none. The theological faculty at Kaunas University had been suppressed. The state subsidy of 1,400,000 litas (1938) had been withdrawn. Heavy taxes had been imposed on church buildings which formerly were exempt from taxation.

Since 1947 there has been in the Baltic countries continual propaganda against the Vatican and pressure on the Catholic clergy to set up a national pseudo-Catholic church. In every community the government has set up a Committee of Twenty. Ten members are appointed by the government and the others are people amenable to government pressure. These committees appoint, control, and dismiss the priests. Teachers and professors have been subjected to loyalty tests. All who were regarded as "clericals" have been dismissed.

The churches are denounced as maintaining a "bourgeois nationalistic attitude." On Christmas Eve 1947 the organ of the Lithuanian Communist Party *Tiesa* wrote: "German Fascism is no longer able to nourish Lithuanian bourgeois nationalism, and in consequence it has now turned to the Anglo-American imperialists for help. That is why they praise the Anglo-American liberal-bourgeois system. Most of those who oppose the people belong to the reactionary wing of the Catholic Church. It is in the interest of the people that these Lithuanian bourgeois nationalists be annihilated as rapidly as possible." A year later in *Soviet Lithuania,* the Secretary of the Lithuanian Communist Party, Trofimov, declared that all the forces of the Party have to be mobilized to eliminate the last remnants of the Lithuanian nationalists. Soviet broadcasts in January 1949 reported that the Lithuanian underground movement had been liquidated and order reestablished, but a month later at the Congress of the Lithuanian Communist Party, a delegate again attacked "the anti-Soviet underground," particularly the "reactionary clergy."

The head of church affairs in the Lithuanian government is a former MVD warden named Gailevicius. In January 1949 he issued a decree providing that no two church buildings will be permitted within a distance of seven kilometers (about four and one-half miles) from each other. Any churches rendered superfluous by this decree were immediately to be turned over to state use. The effect has been to paralyze church life in the larger towns and cities. Kaunas, with 150,000 inhabitants, of whom 60 percent are Catholics, has been allowed to retain only two of its 21 churches. Vilna has also been reduced to one church. Such parishes as still exist are theoretically allowed to use 20 to 25 acres of land each, but actually very few of them are in possession of the land to which they have title. Each church is assessed to taxes varying between 40,000 and 160,000 roubles (four roubles equal one dollar at official exchange rates). The monthly pay of an average worker is about 450 roubles, and the monthly salary of a high official is about 800 roubles. If church taxes are not paid, the church is closed. A priest is forbidden to say mass or perform priestly duties unless he has a church. The parish priest must pay a personal tax of 100,000 roubles yearly, and his assistants must pay about 50,000. Similar taxes are levied on Protestant clergymen, and already more than 60 percent of the Protestant churches in Lithuania have been closed. It was reported from Latvia in 1949 that a tax of 1,000 roubles was levied for the confirmation of a child.

The persecution of intellectuals has grown in intensity since the beginning of 1948. They are charged with inadequate appreciation of the Marxist-Leninist ideology, enthusiasm for the bourgeois western civilization, and sympathy for the national and religious culture. Minister of Education Niunka published a typical charge in the official Communist Party organ *Tiesa* on October 31, 1948. "Most teachers of Ignalinas High School . . . have not yet got rid of religious prejudices. . . . N. Petravicius is a supporter of clericalism, a practicing believer; his apartments are adorned with images of saints. . . . Marija Alseikiene was a member in the days of the bourgeois regime of such organizations as the Girl Guides, Home Guard, and Nationalists. . . ." Such charges provided basis for removal from office and deportation. Farmers are charged with supporting the partisans, or subjected to impossible delivery quotas. They are then tried for sabotage and deported. In the single district or Marijampole in Lithuania, 153 farmers were thus liquidated.

Collectivization of farms has been undertaken on a very big scale and with barbarities similar to those inflicted on the Russian kulaks in the 1920s. Farmers who own more than 15 hectares (36 acres) of land, farmers who fail to supply the quotas levied on them, and farmers who for any other reason fall into disgrace are all classed as exploiters and are not admitted to collective farms when their land is seized to form the collectives. If they do not flee to the woods, they are deported as slave labor to Vorkuta or other Arctic regions. Their place is taken by Russians, who constitute an overwhelming majority in the administration of the collective farms and in the central and local committees of the Communist Party and the Communist Youth organization. There were but 20 collective farms in Lithuania at the beginning of 1948, but 524 at the end of the year and 4,000 in July 1949. Over 90 percent of the peasants were reported to have been collectivized by the spring of 1951.

Procedure in the deportation of Lithuanians, Latvians, and Estonians is now governed by a secret order issued by the Politburo of the Soviet Union in July 1948 and signed by Abakumov. It directed that all political prisoners, including those under presumptive arrest, were to be deported. Families of those accused of espionage, taking part in underground movements, or maintaining contact with foreign countries were to be included. Those who receive letters from abroad or have relatives living abroad are classed as maintaining contact with foreign countries. The order directed that prison personnel other than Communist Party members should be deported with the prisoners. It called for a complete list of former professional soldiers and officers and their families, priests and members of religious communities, lawyers, engineers, and others exercising the liberal professions. The order, as quoted textually by the Lithuanian legation, Washington, D.C., in its "Current News on the Lithuanian Situation," April–May 1949 authorized MGB officials "to remove the civilian population, either by evacuation or annihilation, in the event of the presence of the special conditions: imperilment by hostile forces, mutiny, sabotage, etc., or in the interests of the security of the armed forces."

It is believed that in Lithuania alone, 120,000 people were deported between March and June 1949 in pursuance of this order, bringing to 520,000 the number of Lithuanians exterminated or deported by the Soviets. Lithuania suffered a further loss of about 200,000 under the Nazi occupation. A proportionate loss to the United States would amount to 40 million citizens.

A report of midsummer 1950 from Lithuania said that pressure was continuing to prevent the attendance of the faithful in the few churches still open. Repairs to the church buildings were prohibited. Collections in the churches were likewise prohibited. Even hymns might not be sung in church without advance permission specifying the hymns to be sung. At some churches, admission tickets had to be bought at seven roubles each ($1.75 at official exchange rates), the proceeds going to the state. In Kaunas, with a population of 90,000 Catholics, only two of 21 churches remained open.

The town of Narva, with a population of 24,000, has been cut off from Estonia for administrative purposes and attached to the Leningrad district. Before the war it was most uncommon for women to participate in fishing, but such was the shortage of men that women were now working in considerable numbers in the fishery kolkhoses. The proportion of old men in the factories was very high, and it was not uncommon to meet 80-year-old weavers and 70-year-old road workers. Also reflecting the russification policy was the appointment in 1950 of V. Moskalenko as Minister of State Security in Estonia. A Ukrainian without previous connection with the Baltic States, Moskalenko had distinguished himself for his ruthlessness in forcing through collectivization in the Ukraine.

Reports received from Estonia in March 1951 indicated that additional antireligious measures have been introduced since Moskalenko's arrival. "Luxury" taxes imposed on church weddings, christenings, and confirmations range from 1,000 to 1,500 roubles ($250 to $375), the proceeds being applied toward antireligious propaganda. The Red authorities have also placed high "luxury" taxes on churches still open and have banned all holidays which sprang from Christian holy days.

Simultaneously with the mass deportations from Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia, there is going on a process of indoctrination of the leaderless people aimed at destroying their national, cultural, and religious identity. Compulsory education begins with the kindergarten and it is all imbued with the Marxist-Leninist ideology. The textbooks in the grammar and high schools are direct translations of Soviet textbooks. There is but one youth organization, the Comsomol. No student is allowed to attend mass. Clergymen may not visit the schools. Sons and daughters of kulaks, that is, of people who owned more than 18 acres of land, are excluded from the universities.

These countries are completely sealed off from the outside world. Not one of the western powers has any diplomatic or consular representation in them, though Riga alone before the war had 20 legations. Not a single newspaperman has been allowed to visit and report. But the accounts carried by people who manage to escape confirm that the terror continues. The Street of Jesus in Riga has been renamed the Street of the Godless. The Street of the Cross has become the Street of the Future. The plan to sovietize minds and hearts is being ruthlessly backed up by the destruction of all who resist it.

10. POLAND

FEW nations have equaled Poland's sufferings through the centuries. Like her neighbors, she was invaded by the Mongols in the thirteenth century. Then came a long period of clashes with the Teutonic Knights, from which the Poles emerged victorious to become the dominant power in the Baltic and central and eastern Europe from the fourteenth to the sixteenth century. Even when she was beginning to decline in the seventeenth through internal discord, King John Sobieski was able to rally the flower of the nation to thwart the Turkish plan to occupy Vienna and move into western Europe. The overwhelming defeat of the Ottoman armies before Vienna by the Poles in 1683 marked the turn of the tide and the beginning of liberation of eastern Europe from the Turkish yoke. Dark centuries followed for Poland. Her first partition between Prussia, Russia, and Austria came in 1772, followed by further partitions in 1792 and 1795, marking the elimination of the country from the comity of nations.

The Poles did not yield easily and through the subsequent 147 years continued to struggle, often in arms. But partition carried with it many evils. Each imperial conqueror tried to introduce his own economic system, social customs, laws, and methods. Poles were inducted into all three armies, so that they were forced to fight one another during the 1914–1918 war, when their country was ravaged by the armies fighting back and forth over its surface.

These problems born of partition remained for the nation to solve when it reemerged as an independent democratic republic in 1918 under the leadership of Marshal Pilsudski and that renowned musician and patriot, Jan Paderewski. And the time of fighting was not yet over. The Russian Communist armies overran Poland in 1920, pushing forward to Warsaw and the Vistula. But they were ignominiously repulsed in a masterly campaign by the brave people who have the unique distinction of being the only ones to win a war against the Soviets. The rulers of Russia never forgot the indignity. When their opportunity came, they wreaked a Communist vengeance on a defenseless nation.

After 1921 the Poles enjoyed a short period of peaceful consolidation. The differences developed over long decades of political dismemberment were the source of many domestic disagreements. Wars and partitionings had left even political boundaries uncertain. The bitter past was fresh in all memories. Nevertheless, the short history of free Poland from 1918 to 1939 is predominantly the proud story of progress, tolerance, and readiness to make sacrifices for the common good.

From the moment Hitler rose to power in 1933 and forthwith released a venomous and uninterrupted propaganda of hatred against the Poles, the country girded itself against the threat to survival. Anxious to eliminate every excuse for aggression, Marshal Pilsudski, one of modern Poland's great leaders, made a treaty of friendship with Hitler. How the bargain was kept is a matter of history. The heroic Poles defended their homes against the mechanized Wehrmacht for only a few weeks, but during those weeks the destruction rose to proportions unparalleled in any similar period of warfare. And at the moment of supreme crisis, the perfidious Soviets struck from behind, and the peace of death descended on the victims.

When later Hitler declared war on the Soviets, the horror started anew with foreign armies marching across and fighting on the land. And during the last desperate stand of the defeated Germans in 1944, when the Soviets tricked the Poles into a premature rising against the Nazis and then stood ignobly by while they were being crushed to powder, the heroic people enduring sufferings beyond telling or believing.

But Poland has always been amazingly resilient. No matter what the punishment, her people have risen again. This recuperative power has had a strongly religious basis. There is scarcely such a thing as a nonreligious Pole. Deep spiritual faith has always given the nation and the individual the strength to survive.

Historically, Catholicism has stood in the mind of the Poles, as in that of many of their neighbors, as a symbol of their membership of western civilization. They constituted a barrier for this religion and this civilization against the Moslems in the Middle Ages. They regard themselves as having the historic mission of protecting Catholicism and the civilization of the west.

On the resurgence of Poland as an independent nation in 1918, the Catholic Church became one of the driving forces of the republic. Catholic schools of all grades flourished, including a Catholic university at Lublin. Catholic organizations took a leading part in social, cultural, and charitable works. A strong Catholic press included four daily newspapers.

The constitution guaranteed religious liberty for all, subject only to public order and the law. State recognition was necessary for a denomination in order that it might organize public demonstrations and administer its internal affairs as an autonomous legal personality. Such recognition was given to all denominations in the country. The constitution made religious instruction compulsory in education up to the age of eighteen. The religious denominations organized and controlled religious teaching to children of their members in the schools.

The concordat of 1925 gave the Catholic Church a position of preeminence in Poland, without limiting the freedom of exercise accorded to other denominations by the constitution. The concordat ensured various privileges to Catholic parochial schools. Other religious denominations similarly gained legal privileges by means of laws which, in conformity with the constitution, were enacted following discussion with and agreement of their respective leaders.

Latin Catholics were organized in twenty dioceses, while there were three Greek Catholic dioceses, one diocese for the Armenian Rite, and a diocese for Catholics in the army, the chief chaplain being a bishop. There were two cardinals, 49 bishops, 12,000 diocesan priests, 1,800 monks, and 17,000 nuns.

The Nazi occupation of western Poland in 1939 and of the entire country in 1941 signified a desperate threat to Catholicism, both because of the close bond between religion and patriotism and because the Holy See refused to recognize the new frontiers and consequently would not reorganize ecclesiastical divisions to fit the pattern of conquest. It also raised the curtain on the last violent act of the grim tragedy of Polish Jewry.

It was not the first time that Polish Jews had been persecuted. There had been many previous pogroms, particularly in the part under Czarist Russia. The Jews, however, had not only survived those attacks but had prospered miraculously through them, at least in a spiritual sense. They clung tenaciously to the strictly orthodox form of their religion, which held them closely together even when they were scattered. The face of the Polish Jew reflected the sadness and suffering of his historical experience. Yet he triumphed over the material depravity and incredible poverty which were his normal lot, to produce writers and philosophers in many languages rising to great mental and spiritual heights. And these intellectuals did not reject the traditions of their homes and people. On the contrary, they stayed close in sympathy and thought to their simple uneducated brothers and reacted on them to spiritualize their attitudes and develop understanding and sympathy for their neighbors of other races and religious persuasions.

The Jewish community, numbering nearly three and a half millions, was the most important cultural and religious group after the Catholics when Hitler occupied the country. It exists no more. From their city slums and their little villages on the great plains the Jews were hunted out and driven to slave-labor camps and gas chambers. Not more than a few hundred thousand, perhaps not even a hundred thousand remained.

Yet even these battered remnants of a broken race were not left unmolested by the Communists, for whom the Jews are like any other group that refuses to be absorbed and that holds principles other than theirs. By the end of 1949 all their organizations had been disbanded, the Mapai affiliated with the majority party of Israel, another group associated with the Mapam leftist party of Israel, the religious organization Mizrachi. The American-Jewish welfare organization, the Joint Distribution Committee, had been forced to close its offices, and its director (W. Bein) had left the country. All Jewish publications had been taken over by the state-owned agency called Czytelnik. The Coordinating Committee for Zionist Youth was dissolved in June 1949, by which date all Yiddish and Hebrew schools had been taken over by the government. In March 1950 the *New York Times* reported that since the Communists seized power, 85,000 Jews had fled Poland, leaving about 50,000 in the country registered as Jews, while there were probably some thousands more unregistered. In the last quarter of 1950 emigration of Jews was still running at 2,000 a month. The memorial of the Jewish Labor Committee submitted to the United Nations in March 1951 states that Jewish cultural life in Poland has been subjected to a savage liquidation, similar in intensity and form to that in Soviet Russia. All their schools had been seized. A few minor newspapers, 39 libraries, 43 cultural clubs, and six orchestras survived, but all were on the verge of destruction. "Insecurity, loneliness, homelessness, and forced assimilation are the lot of the remaining tens of thousands of Jews who are compelled to remain under Soviet Communist domination in Poland today."

The famous German-Jewish writer Franz Werfel wrote a play in 1940 called *Jakobowsky and the Colonel.* It told how a Polish underground colonel and a Jewish refugee banker fled Paris together as the Nazis approached. In one scene a Franciscan friar and a young Jew appear, riding together on a tandem bicycle. It is a faithful picture of what happened in Poland during the Nazi occupation, when aristocrat and peasant, Christian and Jew suffered together, each doing all in his power to lessen the martyrdom of the other.

For the Catholics also suffered under the Nazis. Though officially the Germans proclaimed religious freedom, they arrested priests everywhere because of their anti-German and pro-Polish stand and because of their efforts to protect the Jews, and confined them in hundreds in concentration camps. The direction of ecclesiastical life had often to be entrusted to civilians. In 1941 Hitler suggested that Polish dioceses which fell vacant should be placed under German bishops, but rather than give this recognition to the Nazis, the Holy See entrusted them to provisional apostolic administrators. When the war ended, only seven of 46 bishops were left. Allied troops found alive only 816 of 2,800 members of the clergy sent to concentration camps. Two thousand churches had been closed. Of Poznan's 30 churches, only one remained open. Nevertheless the Catholics continued to practice their religion as best they could. While the oppression was at its height, the Catholics of Warsaw opened a study center and were able to organize common mass recitals and nocturnal adoration of the Blessed Sacrament. These activities were directed by the Credo groups, an organization similar to the Knights of Columbus. A fund was also organized for the spiritual and material needs of Polish war prisoners.

After the war, the legal government of the republic of Poland, still recognized by the western allies and by the Holy See, was not permitted to return to the country, and a Communist-dominated regime was forced upon the Polish people by the occupying Soviet armies.

Territorial losses on the east and expansion on the west changed the religious statistics. From a prewar area of 150,000 square miles Poland shrank to 121,000, of which only 80,000 belonged to the 1939 territory. One of the greatest changes of population recorded in history took place in the 39,000 square miles of territory acquired on the west border. Of the five million inhabitants in 1948, only 23 percent were domiciled there before the war. Only a small proportion of the seven million Germans who formerly lived there now remain. Because of these population transfers, the number of Lutheran communities has decreased by 40 percent and the number of Lutheran pastors by 80 percent. Lutherans now number between two and three hundred thousand. They have a theological seminary at Warsaw and they are engaged in the task of repolonization of the remaining Lutheran population, which according to them is mainly of Polish ethnic origin.

The Lutherans were in a peculiarly weak position to oppose the Communists, because any resistance could be represented as motivated by German sympathies. And the other Protestant groups were so small that most of them were easily crushed. Accordingly it was comparatively easy for the Communists to implement their universal practice of first dominating the small religious bodies and using them as a front in their struggle to destroy the important ones. Statements affirming the existence of religious freedom in Poland made by Communist stooges in Poland have deceived nobody in the country, though at certain times they have served to mislead world opinion.

But the real reply to such propaganda is the story of the Y.M.C.A. The clash came as part of the campaign to get a monopoly of social service, hospitals, homes for the poor and orphans, and all activities influencing the outlook of youth. The Y.M.C.A. had performed a notable service under the leadership of an indefatigable American friend of Poland, the late Paul Super, bringing inspiration to thousands of Poles during their bitter oppression. But it represented a spiritual outlook incompatible with Communism and accordingly was denounced as "a channel of cosmopolitanism and a deleterious anachronism in the People's Poland." A packed general meeting of Y.M.C.A. delegates at Warsaw in October 1949 declared that between the wars it had been promoting imperialistic ideology, and that its charter would be revised to make of it a social organization acting in accordance with the ideology of the People's Poland and without any ties to the world organization of Y.M.C.A.

The old Y.M.C.A., stated the resolution, was created "because the rulers of capitalism wanted to hamper the process of consolidation of class consciousness among the working masses, because they wanted to reconcile them to capitalism and to counteract Marxist teaching, which was becoming increasingly popular among these masses. The American Y.M.C.A. and the world Y.M.C.A. organization are both harnessed by capital to serve American imperialism."

The Polish Orthodox Pravoslav Church was recognized in 1924 by the Patriarch of Constantinople as an autocephalous church. Up to the German-Russian occupation in 1939 it enjoyed the religious freedom guaranteed by the constitution, but after the war the Communists for a while attacked and criticized it. In March

1948 the Orthodox Archbishop of Warsaw, Dionis Valedinsky, was deprived of his authority and replaced by Timotheus, Archbishop of Bialystok, who was known for his leanings toward Moscow.

A delegation headed by Timotheus went to Moscow in July 1948 and asked the Moscow Patriarch to accept the Polish Orthodox Church into the "canonical community of the Moscow mother church and give his blessing to the Polish Autocephalous Church." This request was granted. Subsequently, Michael Kedrov, head of the monastery of Jablocna, was appointed Orthodox Bishop of Breslau. These actions fit into the general picture of the expansionist movement westward of the Communist-dominated Orthodox Church, and indications are that the Communists will seek to advance Orthodoxy in Poland as part of their effort to bring religion under their control.

The 1946 census gave the population of Poland as 23,929,757. There had been before the war about 12,000,000 people in the territory annexed by the Soviets in 1945, while in the German regions annexed by Poland there had been 8,500,000. The transfers of Germans to Germany and the exchange of population with the Soviets, coupled with 6,000,000 war deaths, explain the fall from a prewar Polish population of 35,000,000 of which 27,000,000 were Catholics. The proportion of Catholics has greatly increased as a result of the transfers, Catholics now numbering about 22,000,000. The Jews have been all but eliminated by the Nazis and the Communists.

In April 1948 there were two Catholic cardinals, three archbishops, 13 bishops in charge of dioceses, three bishops abroad, 8,806 diocesan priests, 1,899 monks, 13,013 nuns, and 4,467 students of theology. There were 5,899 parishes, of which 1,452 were in the newly acquired western territories. Religious statistics will be difficult to obtain in the future, because since February 1948 religion is omitted from official statistics.

Because of the numerical strength and constancy of the Polish Catholics, the Communist pattern has been imposed more slowly on that country than on the other countries behind the Iron Curtain. An attitude of hostility toward religion and in particular against Catholicism was nevertheless adopted from the outset.

The concordat was denounced in September 1945 under the pretext that the Vatican had sided with the Germans and against Poland's legitimate interests on the question of the expulsion of Germans from the western territories. At that time the leftist press conducted a violent campaign against the Holy See. Later, however, President Bierut apologized and declared that he had been convinced by documents which the Vatican had published that the Pope had been right in his attitude to the German question. But the attacks were renewed in 1946 and further action was taken to lessen the authority and influence of the Church in the country's life. Propaganda against religious education was undertaken, and there were also efforts to create a "national church." The Apostolic Administrator of Chelm and the Bishop of Danzig were tried as war criminals. Two priests were sentenced to long prison terms.

In June 1946 the bishops issued a pastoral letter in which they expressed concern at the curtailment of the individual rights of Polish citizens, and in which they also defended religious education. A few months later the official organ of the diocese of Warsaw voiced the Church's protests against the effort to propagate a "national church."

The 1944 declaration of the Committee of National Liberation had guaranteed that a free press would be restored in Poland, that there would be freedom of conscience and of public and social institutions, and that the rights of the Catholic Church would be respected. Parliament subsequently repeated the assurances, and the so-called "Declaration of the Rights of Citizens" of 1947 explicitly guaranteed freedom of conscience. But the interpretation of these declarations became progressively more restrictive. By 1947, though religious education was still compulsory in principle, with an exception only for children whose parents expressly asked that they should be exempted, the government in practice placed many obstacles in the way of implementing the law.

The Catholic colleges and the Catholic university at Lublin were still allowed to function, but it was becoming clear that further restrictions were likely. Government spokesmen lost no opportunity of expressing as the official view that there should be greater state control of the minds of the people and especially of the young, so that all citizens should learn how to think along Communist lines. General Zawadzki, a member of the Polish Politburo, set forth in late 1947 what the Communists meant by liberty of conscience. The state should not interfere in religion, he said, but it should guarantee full liberty for unbelievers and prevent all religious interference in politics. And the Communist Party, he added, demanded "unconditional loyalty" from the clergy toward the "people's state."

Meanwhile, restrictions on the religious press prevented the church leaders from expressing their viewpoint on such declarations and from promoting religious ideas in any way. The allocation of newsprint was controlled by the government, and in addition there was state censorship of all published matter. Permission was refused to revive any of the Catholic daily newspapers which had existed before the war.

In an effort to protect basic liberties, Cardinal Hlond issued a statement in 1947 concerning a new constitution then being discussed. Individuals and the state, he said, both are subject to the natural law. The new constitution should be that of a Christian state, since the Poles were Christians, and it should favor the exercise of the Catholic religion as the religion of the vast majority of the citizens. The constitution should assure the reign of law and order in public life, safeguard human rights and human dignity, ensure the equality of citizens before the law and their right to fair trial, encourage private initiative in economic life, and assure the right of private property. The Cardinal also stressed the need for the constitution to safeguard the family, and he asked for specific guarantees with regard to religious life. These included the right to Catholic education for Catholics and religious instruction for all, autonomy for the Church and freedom of divine service, the Church's right to maintain theological seminaries and property necessary for it to carry on its charitable and social works, and freedom of functioning of the religious orders. He also asked that the constitution should define the relationship between church and state.

The antireligious propaganda nevertheless continued to emanate from the government and from government-sponsored Communist organizations, and various pastorals of the bishops were issued in protest. A pastoral letter of September 1947 had already deplored the anti-Christian literature and the press attacks on private and ecclesiastical schools; deceitful measures to entice the faithful to join political parties which denied Christian principles and urged class hatred, and censorship of encyclicals and of pastoral letters and of the few Catholic weeklies which were permitted to exist. The same type of campaign was protested in the Manifesto of Wroclaw issued by the bishops in September 1948. Government pressure against the schools was being intensified, it said. Officially sponsored atheistic propaganda was undermining education, freedom of instruction was being violated by the expulsion of teaching priests, by the removal of crucifixes from the schools, and by the suppression of the teaching of religion.

No opportunity was lost to try to lessen the prestige of the Holy See and represent the Vatican as an enemy of the Polish people. In March 1948 the Pope issued a letter to the German bishops in which he expressed his sympathy for the hundreds of thousands of German refugees. The Polish government immediately seized on this letter as a reflection on Poland, and with all the weight of its propaganda machine presented it to the people as a proof that the Vatican was pro-German and anti-Slav. A note of Minister Wolski to the secretary of the Polish Primate complained that the Vatican still failed to recognize the new western frontiers. Cardinals Hlond and Sapieha visited Rome, and in September a conference of the Polish bishops published a manifesto in which they declared that the Pope, in expressing his sympathy for the German refugees, had not wished to voice any opinion on the question of the new frontiers.

But the government was in no mood for conciliation. At that time it thought that it might be able to drive a wedge between the higher and lower clergy. When it was announced that Polish priests who had been inmates of German concentration camps were to hold a special reunion and pilgrimage, the government-controlled press took up the initiative with the greatest enthusiasm. The Governor of Poznan conferred on ten priests the Medal of

Polish Reconstruction. But the plan met with no success. The priests stood loyally with their bishops.

First Communist moves against religious education were made as far back as June 1945. At an educational congress at Lodz, some delegates asked the government to suppress religious education. At that time the Communists were not strong enough to force their will, and the proposal was shelved. But the government shortly afterward took an important restrictive step. It decreed that from the beginning of the next school year, religious instruction could be imparted only by priests. Since there was a serious shortage of priests because of the number killed during the war, this meant that in many schools it was impossible to continue religious instruction.

During the debate on the budget in the summer of 1947, Premier Cyrankiewicz referred to the great influence of the Church in the sphere of education and warned that it was the government's intention to examine this carefully.

The Communist-dominated Congress of the National Association of Polish Grammar School Teachers at its fall 1948 meeting carried the antireligious program a step further with a resolution declaring that clerical influence had to be eliminated from education and that public education had to be placed on a Marxist basis.

The situation that had been reached in October 1948 is set out in a pastoral letter of Auxiliary Bishop Bieniek of Katowice. The constitution, he said, guarantees religious instruction in grammar schools, and the regulations make this instruction compulsory. In a letter to the bishops in September 1948 the President of the republic had undertaken that this compulsory religious instruction would continue. But in actual fact the diocesan priests were not being allowed to give this religious instruction. It had been alleged that funds were not available. But when the priests offered to give the instruction without pay, their offer was rejected. In many schools, religious instruction had been completely eliminated or restricted to one hour weekly. The faithful had been pained by various actions indicative of a lack of respect for religion, such as the transfer of the traditional crosses from the outer walls of schools to secondary walls, and the removal of the body of Christ from the crosses. Ecclesiastical bodies were doing everything in their power, said the Bishop, to ensure the continuance of religious instruction, and all priests had made out the appropriate applications to the education authorities. But their applications had been ignored.

At a meeting of Communist educators in November 1948, Premier Cyrankiewicz ratified a resolution condemning the "liberal attitude" hitherto observed with regard to the Church. And about the same time Education Minister Skrzeszewski said that the new state needed a new education program that would conform to historic developments. He said that many errors had to be eliminated from the textbooks and that these would in future be impregnated with the proletarian ideology.

A few months later the Communists organized an association named "Children's Joy" to become the unifying association for youth groups in the Marxist primary schools; 1,500 kindergartens, 200 homes for children, and all grammar and preparatory schools were placed under its control. From its preparatory training schools, 4,700 grammar-school teachers were scheduled to graduate by 1950. It makes the propagation of atheism a basic element in its program and emphasizes that the whole educational process must be imbued with the tenets of the proletarian society. At the same time the work of redrafting the textbooks in the Communist pattern was pushed ahead, and fifty million of the revised textbooks had been issued by May 1949.

In December 1948 the Polish Communist Party absorbed the Social-Democratic Party and thus greatly increased its power by the elimination of this opposition group. Arrests of priests, which had already become frequent during 1948, were stepped up. An estimate made in January 1949 placed the number of arrested priests at over 350. Later, the Bishop of Katowice in a letter to his clergy protested the arrest of six of his priests for having placed the crucifix in schools and for having made an appeal for funds to build a church. Propaganda was intensified to exclude the religious orders from teaching and to separate church and state. The Holy See's attitude to the new western frontiers was raised once more. The government-controlled newspapers demanded in April 1949 that the frontiers of the West-Polish dioceses should be definitely delimited. Further attacks on the Pope were made in July when he spoke over the radio to a Catholic congress in Berlin. The Pope is supporting German imperialism and revisionism, screamed the controlled press, ignoring completely what he had said. Though he uses Latin when he speaks to the Slavs, said the press, he addressed the Germans in their own warmongering tongue.

Another pretext to ridicule religion and embarrass the church authorities was found in the alleged miracle in Lublin in July 1949, when it was reported that the statue of the Blessed Virgin had shed tears. Despite an official ecclesiastical statement reserving opinion on the occurrence, the controlled press charged that the Church had engineered and fabricated the "miracle" in order to make money by deceiving the simple people.

Efforts were also made to interfere with the observance of Sunday. The July 1949 issue of the organ of the Polish Miners' Union claimed that Sunday would have to be declared a working day in order to accomplish the Three Year Plan. The 1949 Trade Union Congress made a violent attack on the Catholic Charity Service and the Y.M.C.A., alleging that these bodies were infected with the ideology of capitalism. This was not the first attack on the Catholic Charity Service. Its director, Father Leon Paplina, had been arrested in summer 1947. The importance of the Service may be gauged from the fact that in 1947 it had 4,157 parochial branches with 24,000 voluntary helpers engaged in welfare work, a further 4,000 voluntary workers caring for the poor, 8,360 looking after war orphans, 35,700 collecting relief donations, 166,703 active in infant care, and about 100,000 tending the aged and war invalids.

According to the opportunity of the moment and the variations in Soviet foreign policy, there were many fluctuations in the propaganda. But its underlying intention was constant. In January 1949, Premier Cyrankiewicz charged that certain elements in the Catholic Church were taking improper advantage of the people's respect for religion and were working against the people's democracy. By May of that year the charges of Vatican collaboration with the Germans had abated, and instead the new version was that the Vatican was a tool of the western plutocracies and during the war had supported the western partisans against the Soviets. The motive for this change of line was the new pro-German orientation of the Soviet Union.

The bishops nevertheless continued to use all means at their disposal to reveal the real intentions of the Communists. In April, Archbishop Wyszynski said that the government's one aim was to create divisions between the people and the Church and its Head. And in May, in a sermon delivered in Warsaw, he added: "Once again we have concentration camps and the jails are packed to overflowing. The bricks and stones of war-damaged churches are being used to build penitentiaries. Many priests are in prison."

But in spite of all protests, the pressure was not eased. The religious schools and the hospitals operated by the religious orders had been nationalized, while press attacks on the religious orders – particularly on the Jesuits – continued. Pretexts, usually of a political character, were found to harrass priests and to arrest them. Usually the charges were of collaboration with armed bands of anti-Communists. Premier Cyrankiewicz accused the clergy of connivance with "reactionary" underground movements. Yet, in spite of all the attacks, the patriotism of the clergy kept them on the side of the government on important national problems, such as that of the "liberated" German lands. Laymen active in the cause of religion fared no better than the clergy. A Vatican dispatch of May 1948 reported that a million Catholics from Poland and the Baltic States had been deported to Siberia.

In August 1949 the Secretary of the Polish Communist Youth Organization announced that its membersip was already 1,010,000 and that by the fall it would reach 2,000,000. This mass recruitment was necessary, he said, because youth had to be educated in the spirit of the people's democracy and the principles of socialism. The progress of this reorientation was indicated in a dispatch of the official Polish News Agency at the opening of the school year. The new educational system, it said, is based on the latest experiences in pedagogy according to Marxist-Leninist philosophy.

High schools and grammar schools are featuring class warfare as a special subject. Particular emphasis is given to the study of Soviet Russia. The same stress is placed on analyzing Anglo-American imperialism in order to reveal its true "negative-destructive" character. Russian remains the only compulsory foreign language.

After the war all publications were placed under the control of Czytelnik and other agencies, which exercise their powers both through censorship and through restriction of the issuance of newsprint. Permission was refused for the revival of any of the four Catholic daily newspapers which had functioned before the war. The most important Catholic weekly in Krakow, *Tygodnik Powszechny,* had 100,000 subscribers but was granted only enough newsprint for 20,000 copies. The weekly *Dzis I Jutro* represented itself as the organ of progressive Catholics but was in reality a Communist-front publication. The total number of publications in Poland increased from 1,191 in the last quarter of 1947 to 1,401 in the last quarter of 1948, but in the same period there was a substantial reduction in the number of religious publications. Catholic journalists managed to retain their own group within the Polish Journalists' organization during 1948, but at the Stettin Congress of Journalists they were the target of concentrated attacks by the Communists as "defeatists." The Congress declared that "optimistic Soviet realism" was compulsory for all journalists.

The first law openly directed against the clergy was issued in August 1949. It was intended as a counterblast to the Vatican decree of excommunication against those who actively propagated Communism, and it was similar in its approach and sanctions to those promulgated at the same time in other satellite states. Any clergyman who dared obey the Holy See's orders was threatened with grave reprisals, while "priests who perform their religious duties in accordance with the commands of patriotism and loyalty toward the People's State will be surrounded by friendly protection from the authorities." Prison sentences were provided for anyone refusing the sacraments to a person because of his political, social, or scientific beliefs or activities. The authorities summoned many thousands of priests throughout the country and had this decree read to them. They then tried to persuade them to sign statements affirming that in this matter they sided with the government against the Holy See, but the priests almost without exception refused. Many priests were jailed.

In September 1949, on the tenth anniversary of the outbreak of war, the Pope recalled in a letter to Cardinal Sapieha the invasion of Germans and Russians and the steadfastness of the Poles under persecution. He said that even four years after war had ended, the Poles had not regained those freedoms that are "the sacred right of all peoples." Recounting the injustices under which they suffered, he said that Catholic associations were almost everywhere suppressed, religious instruction in the schools was curtailed, free growth of institutions entrusted to the clergy and nuns was prevented, religion was constantly attacked, the Pope and bishops and priests were the target of abuse, the publication of Catholic writings was impeded by censorship, religious comforts were denied to those in jail and to the sick, correspondence between the Holy See and bishops and faithful was impeded, and external manifestations of Catholic life were becoming daily more difficult.

The Communists reacted to this protest by stepping up their campaign. The controlled press described the Pope's statements as falsities and slanders and a new provocation. All remaining Catholic printing establishments were nationalized. Religious teaching was stopped in many schools by the expedient of dismissing and not replacing the teachers of religion. Justice Minister Henryk Swiatkowski publicly accused the higher clergy of a series of crimes ranging from espionage to actual underground fighting. Talks which were in progress between the bishops and the government were broken off. The authorities issued a decree obliging all religious organizations to register and list their members, activities, and property, and forbidding processions or other manifestations of the faith without state permission. The bishops protested that this decree violated the constitution, which gave every recognized religious association the right to organize collective and public devotions.

Paralleling the Communist infiltration into education of the other satellites, more than one million children were given Communist indoctrination in summer camps in 1949. The new school year opened without the traditional religious exercises, for which were substituted lectures on the "liberation of Poland by the Red Army." New textbooks were announced for the four million children in Poland's 23,000 schools which would instruct them in "the fundamentals of materialism and Marxism." Russian was introduced as a subject in all elementary schools. Communist commissions were set up to screen students for admission to the universities "on the basis of their class consciousness." During World Student Week in November 1949 the 102,000 students in Poland's 43 universities were urged to hate the warmongering Americans and rally to the peace-loving Soviet Union headed by the great peacemaker, Stalin. A month earlier the formation of so-called Catholic Youth Action groups had been announced to lead a movement against the reactionary Holy See and bishops. These young people were encouraged to spy on their friends and families and to denounce "reactionary" priests and nuns.

Integration of the Communist program of progressive enslavement of the satellites was more obvious in the latter part of 1949 and 1950 than in any previous year. For example, the last contacts with the west were cut off in every country. In Poland the International Committee of the Red Cross was forced to close its offices and withdraw its staff. The Friends' Service Committee had to suspend operations, and the International Relief Organization of the United Nations (I.R.O.) was closed down. Pressure was simultaneously brought to bear on CARE and the Foster Parents' Plan for War Children.

In November 1949 there was a far-reaching purge of the Polish United Workers (Communist) Party. Various former government ministers were included in a list of "traitors," and President Boleslaw Bierut complained that there had been widespread sabotage. One of the objects of the purge, as announced by the President, was to increase class consciousness. Of the 1,500,000 members of the Party, he said, only 53 percent were workers, 5 percent farm laborers, 14 percent peasants, and 28 percent intellectuals; but it had been decided that 90 percent must be workers and peasants and only 10 per cent intellectuals, all of whom would have to be technological workers, teachers, and creative workers.

Also in line with Communist moves in Latvia, Hungary, Rumania, and the Ukraine, a central antireligion office, known as Orginform, was opened in Warsaw at the beginning of 1950. It is directed by Soviet specialists and headed by a former Orthodox monk who had been for many years a lieutenant-colonel in the Soviet secret police. Its function is to train youths in revolutionary techniques and the principles of Marxism, while also familiarizing them with Catholic and Protestant theology and religious practices, so that they can infiltrate seminaries or pose as priests or ministers as occasion offers.

Following a press campaign which featured charges of degeneracy against monks and alleged abuses in the administration of its funds, the Catholic official charitable and social organization Caritas was placed under state control. As befitted an overwhelmingly Catholic nation like Poland, this was the principal social service organization of the country. At the time of its seizure it operated in all of Poland's 25 dioceses, with 4,169 parish branches assisting 100,000 families and 60,000 individuals. It conducted many kindergartens, 230 recreation rooms, several hundred nurseries and semiboarding schools, 630 homes for the aged, caring for 30,000 old people, 1,700 regular dispensaries and 1,200 emergency dispensaries, and several thousand emergency kitchens. Most of the personnel worked without pay.

The next move was the expropriation of all church lands of over 250 acres in extent. As in many neighboring countries, a very substantial proportion of the revenues needed to maintain schools, hospitals, orphanages, and other social and charitable activities of the Church derived from real estate. The amount owned by the Catholic Church in Poland has been variously estimated at from 250,000 to about 400,000 acres. Since Poland had something over 30,000 priests, monks, and nuns (or about one for every 900 Catholics) when the Communists seized power, this represented about 10 acres each, and much of it consisted of forests and other low-grade lands. The Communists had already subjected the

Church's holdings to heavy taxes, so that the financial loss resulting from the expropriation was not very great.

Again paralleling the Party line in other satellites, the Communists of Poland during the early part of 1950 repeatedly called for an agreement with the Catholic Church which would include a full acceptance by the Church of the "new order." To give teeth to this propaganda, they stepped up arrests of priests beyond the rate of 1949, when about 350 were jailed. In February, Bishop Kazimierz Kowalski was placed under house arrest. This was the first arrest of a bishop in Poland, and the Party leaders decided that it was still too dangerous to pursue that policy. After a few weeks he was released. Simultaneously efforts were continued to win adherence among the clergy to the Communist-sponsored schismatic church, but they met with practically no success. Estimates placed at over 1,000 the number of priests killed or imprisoned, at 7,000 the number pressurized by the secret police.

Finally a church-state agreement was signed in April 1950 with the concurrence of all the bishops. As in Hungary, the Communists made substantial concessions on paper from their original demands. The regime agreed to recognize religion, the Catholic Church and papal jurisdiction in religious, spiritual, and moral matters; to grant freedom of activity to the remaining Catholic schools; to maintain the existing status of religious instruction in both lay and clerical schools; to maintain teachers of religion on equality of status with other teachers; to place no obstacles in the way of students wishing to participate in religious practices outside school; to permit the Catholic University of Lublin to function as heretofore; to observe the existing rights of Catholic associations; to permit the Church to continue her charitable and welfare activities and her religious education within the framework of existing regulations; to give religious orders full freedom within the limits of their calling and the framework of existing laws; to maintain chaplains in the army, penal institutions, and state hospitals. The bishops for their part agreed to support the government's claim to the "recovered territories" and to ask the Holy See to recognize Poland's right to those territories (i.e., to the parts of Eastern Germany occupied at the end of hostilities); to urge the priests not to oppose the development of rural cooperatives (land nationalization); to combat the underground; to give their support to antiwar propaganda.

This last innocuous-looking clause was the one which caused the first clash. When the bishops refused to sign the phoney Stockholm peace appeal, the Communists claimed they had broken the pact, and seized on this pretext for a more violent persecution than any that had preceded its signing. Many priests were jailed and teachers ousted from their posts for refusing to sign. Jesuits, Salvatorians, Bernardines, and Michaelites were charged with having formed a terroristic underground. A large number of them were arrested.* About the same time were arrested all the Franciscans at Radeczinca and the superiors of various other monasteries. The charge against them also was that they were operating an underground guerrilla movement.

In July the Communists incorporated a body which they called the Catholic Caritas Association. It had absolutely no ties with the Catholic Church, but the state declared that all the movable and immovable property formerly belonging to Caritas (dissolved by the bishops because of restrictions which prevented it from functioning) and to institutions and associations connected with it, now belonged to the new Communist Caritas. It was granted a monopoly for catechisms, missals, and prayer books, while another Communist entity, the Association of Fighters for Freedom and Democracy, was granted a monopoly for the sale of wine, oil, candles, and other articles required for divine worship. Propaganda continued to urge priests to break with the bishops and the Holy See, and they were promised financial backing and police protection if they took over the administration of the Church.

The 1950–1951 school year opened with Communist parades and indoctrination speeches instead of the customary religious ceremonies. The theme of the propaganda was American imperialism represented as currently oppressing the workers of Korea. The new textbooks stressed the class struggle and glorified the Soviet Union. About 7,000 teachers and 10,000 "educational activists," who had been given special courses during the previous year, were distributed through the school system. In a statement of policy, Education Minister Witold Jarosinski said the new program was based on the principles of dialectical and historical materialism and called for the rooting out of the remnants of reactionary capitalistic and Christian influences. Many of the new textbooks, especially those dealing with literature, culture, and history, were written by Russians, and a Russian "advisory committee" was appointed to help the Polish Education Ministry to speed up the sovietization of education. Other moves in this program included the seizure of the grammar school and high school conducted by the nuns at Wejherowo in Pomerania.

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* And at the same time (June 1950) it was announced that a spy ring, operated through the Jehovah's Witnesses and with headquarters in Brooklyn, New York, had been liquidated.

It quickly became evident to the bishops that the government had no intention of honoring the pact. At their meeting at Czestochowa in September they drew up a memorandum to the government (not published until November) signed by Cardinal Sapieha of Cracow and Archbishop Stefan Wyszynski, Primate of Poland. This document, charging the government with having violated the pact and inflicted wrongs without precedent on the Catholic Church, cited specifically the unilateral rejection of the concordat with the Holy See; the destruction of Catholic schools; the seizure of church hospitals and printing establishments; the elimination of the Catholic press through censorship and discriminatory publishing practices; efforts to restrict divine worship; hostile press campaigns against the Holy See and the bishops; incessant antireligious propaganda; attempts to create schism.

The memorandum stressed in particular the government's perfidy in regard to religious education. In the pact the government had agreed to maintain religious instruction in the public schools. It had avoided this undertaking by the simple expedient of turning over a thousand schools to an atheistic group called the Children's Friends Association which banned religion from its schools. The schools handed over, the bishops charged, were in no other way different from other state schools. The pact had explicitly guaranteed the rights of parents to send children to the school of their choice, yet they were being forced to enroll in the atheistic schools. And in the schools not taken over, the number of hours of religious instruction in the first and second grades had been reduced. Five hundred priests who had taught religion had been ousted for refusing to sign the Stockholm peace appeal. A system had been organized in the kindergartens to isolate children from any expression of religious life. Some Catholic schools had been liquidated since the pact, and the others were doomed to slow extinction by the abolition of the eighth grade.

Many priests, the bishops continued, were under police surveillance; many others had been jailed, some of them dragged from the churches while they were hearing the confessions of children. The bishops themselves were dogged by secret agents who even trailed them while they made the canonical visitation of their dioceses.

Referring to the charge that the approval of the Holy See had not been secured for the ecclesiastical incorporation of the "western territories," the bishops said that they had undertaken to request approval and had done so. But the government itself had weakened their position by its uninterrupted persecution and specifically by its seizure of the seminary at Wroclaw and by breaking the lease for the seminary buildings at Olsztyn and Opole, all in those territories.*

Finally they protested against the incorporation of the spurious Caritas organization and the unconstitutional transfer to it of the property of the former Catholic Caritas. They demanded the return of this property.

As in the case of similar protests by bishops in other satellites, the government made no official reply but used the controlled press and radio to denounce the bishops as warmongers, enemies of the people, supporters of German revisionism, and violators of their pledges. In order to confuse the people and sow despondency they circulated many wild rumors, including the claim that one prelate, described as a bishop and acting apostolic administrator of the diocese of Gorzow Wielkopolski, had broken with the other bishops and would collaborate with the "patriotic priests" and the government to establish permanent dioceses in the western territories. The falsity of these claims became evident in January 1951 when the Communist regime, in direct violation of Point 5 of the 1950 church-state agreement which recognized that the Pope is the competent and supreme authority in matters of church jurisdiction as well as in faith and morals, removed the five Vatican-appointed apostolic administrators of the western territories and nominated "vicars" to replace them. This action was accompanied by a new crescendo of hysterical propaganda which described the apostolic administrators as reactionary and Fascist scum. An official statement said the step would make possible the election of capitular vicars and the recognition of all present clergymen as permanent administrators of the parishes. The object of this unilateral action is to erect the ecclesiastical divisions in these territories into permanent dioceses, but it has of course no canonical effect. Cardinal Sapieha and Archbishop Wyszynski immediately lodged a protest with the Communist regime for its new interference in church affairs and its violation of the church-state agreement. If the "vicars" named by the government attempt to function, they automatically incur excommunication.

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* The Holy See's attitude is that no permanent appointments should be made pending a peace treaty with Germany that would determine Polish rights to these territories.

Voicing world religious opinion, the British Protestant Council of Churches (representing the Church of England, Church of Scotland, Baptist Union, Congregational Union, Methodist Church, Presbyterian Church of England, and the Conference of British Missionary Societies) denounced in December 1950 the grave oppression of the Catholic Church by the Polish government. It accepted as completely reliable a report submitted to it showing that "human rights and freedoms, and particularly the legitimate rights of religious communities, of priests, and of religious laymen have been and are being wantonly violated." It said it was clear that the Declaration of Human Rights of the United Nations was being systematically disregarded, adding that Poland was but one of many countries in which Christianity was threatened by the unrestrained power of a hostile government. In the former Baltic States there was such a curtain of silence that it was impossible to know how far the churches as organized bodies still existed. The available information from other countries was increasingly grave.

Such was the position of religion in Poland as 1951 opened. The small Protestant and Jewish groups were completely silenced and to a large extent governed by Communists or fellow travelers imposed on them against the wishes of their members. Only the Catholic Church remained in vocal opposition. It had still far more power and freedom than in most of the other satellites, but it had suffered deep wounds, and the trend of events, seen in the light of strategy in the other satellites, indicated the Communists would soon close in for the kill. The first months of 1951 saw further moves in this direction. More priests joined those, numbering nearly 1,000, who were in jail at the end of 1950. Bishop Ceslaus Kaczmarek of Kielce was arrested on charges of collaboration with the Nazis and spying for the Vatican and the Americans. A noted leader of Catholic youth, the bishop distinguished himself during the occupation for his defense of all Poles, without discrimination, against the Nazis. Having already removed all Protestant and Jewish chaplains from the army, the Communists (in violation of the 1950 agreement with the Catholic bishops) retired many Catholic chaplains as "untrustworthy" and named pro-Communist priests to replace them without consulting with the church authorities. In March they passed a law declaring as work days four Catholic holy days which formerly were legal holidays. But they had not yet succeeded in silencing the voice of the pastor. Just before leaving for Rome in April 1951, Archbishop Wyszynski, Primate of Poland, publicly warned that priests not in communion with the Holy See were not pastors but wolves, and condemned the plans of materialists to make of the priest a slave of political aims.* At the same time, the church leaders are making every effort to be conciliatory. In May 1951 they issued a new statement for the clergy urging them to avoid all activities against the state and to fulfil strictly their obligations under the church-state agreement of April 1950.

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* The Archbishop had talks with Polish President Boleslaw Bierut shortly before his trip to Rome, and newspaper reports suggested he was going to make another effort to get the Holy See to agree to setting up a permanent diocesan organization in the "western territories." The Archbishop refused to comment, and there has been no statement from Vatican spokesmen.

In June 1951 came news of yet another Communist move to smash up the social order and eliminate the people's leaders. Mass evictions of "class-alien" persons are taking place from Warsaw and the other main cities. Categories included are priests, monks, nuns, and anybody described by the Communists as "western minded." Under this catch-all come Protestant and Jewish leaders. Some are sent direct to forced-labor camps, others to work in industry or on collective farms. The resulting hardships to the victims is very great, as is clear from a letter from Cardinal Sapieha to the village clergy asking them to organize help for those expelled, who are allowed to bring only a small part of their personal belongings. The central direction of this plan is evident from the fact that it is being executed simultaneously in Hungary, Rumania, Czechoslovakia, and Bulgaria.

The future looks dark. Yet at many times in their history the Poles have faced dark futures. There is one unchanging characteristic of these people, a nobility of spirit and a sense of sacrifice. Their history is full of great heroes, people who fought against overwhelming odds, people for whom victory meant less than honor. They remember John Sobieski, who did not give up when the other western nations ignored his appeal to unite to save civilization from the Turks, but instead rallied his own people and with their unaided valor threw back the enemy from the gates of Vienna. They remember the heroes who fought Nazi tanks with bayonets and sabers, who died for civilization in the North African desert and in Italian vineyards. They remember the nameless heroes of the home underground and of the Warsaw ghetto.

The Polish Jew's tradition of suffering and the Polish Catholic's tradition of resistance unto death explain the present position in that country. Though the uprooted and exterminated Jews have no more numerical or political significance, the spirit of those sunken, beaten, innocent human beings who, without being Christians, carried the Cross across the plains of Poland, lives. No one can understand Poland without understanding the Catholic soul. As Lutheranism is part of the spirit of Germany, and as Calvinism provides the key to much of the spirit of Switzerland and that of the United States, these elements give to Poland her meaning. Though her language is Slavonic, her Latin Catholicism kept her in spiritual association through the centuries with Italy and France, made of her a bridge between east and west. Through Poland the Italian Renaissance reached the Nordic peoples. One of the great novels about early Christianity is Sienkiewicz's *Quo Vadis*. This nobility of the Polish soul, its spirituality and its straining after justice shine through the music of Chopin and the dedication of Kosciuszko. General Bor Komorowski's account of the heroic defenders of Warsaw reveals in them the same noble spirit and religious faith.

The Communists and the Poles alike know there is no compromise. Only one set of ideals can survive. And as in every previous national crisis, the Poles will die fighting if they must die. They have refused to compromise or leave the protest to a token few. The city of Poznan has 300,000 inhabitants. For the Feast of the Sacred Heart in 1950, 200,000 people braved the Communist wrath to walk in procession to honor the King whom the Poles will not reject for Caesar. That is the simple reason why the Communists have not moved even more rapidly. Even in defeat and enslavement the Poles continue to the last breath their centuries-long fight for the spiritual values of the west against the new barbarism of Marxism-Leninism.

11. EAST GERMANY

OCCUPATION of the countries of eastern Europe at the end of the war brought the Russian Communists a bigger religious problem than they ever had at home. They met the spirit of the Catholic Church in the more than one hundred million inhabitants of the conquered satellites. The religious feeling of the Orthodox Christians of Russia had always been largely in their own hearts. Their organization was coterminous with that of the state. When the head of the Russian Orthodox Church, the Czar, ceased to exist, and the Moscow Metropolitan was made a junior partner of the Communist state, the counteroffensive power of Orthodoxy had ceased to signify. Because of the worldwide organization of the Catholics and the more clearcut distinction they made between the rights of the temporal power and those of the spiritual, the Communists have had a hard time dealing with them; and for all their power and ruthlessness, the end is not yet.

In East Germany they got yet another religious surprise. They discovered the vitality of Lutheranism as a spiritual force. The German Communists, whether of Protestant, Catholic, or Jewish antecedents, thoroughly disliked German Lutheranism. But they made the mistake of equating it completely with Prussian militarism and other distorted features of German life. When their Russian masters helped them into power, they soon learned that its roots went deeper, that the masses of the people retained intense religious feeling based on a knowledge of the Bible and agreement with all other Christians, including Catholics and Orthodox, on the divinity of Jesus Christ. Even the Russian Communist is compelled to understand what that means when he is brought face to face with it, if only because of the vivid way a great Russian philosopher, Wladimir Solovjev, has expressed it for him in his legend of the Anti-Christ.

Thus the Russians met, head-on in East Germany, the third great division of Christianity with which they had many skirmishes in other satellites. This area is of course no more exclusively Protestant than the other satellites are monoreligious. The whole of Europe is a religious mosaic, the social and cultural values emphasized by each contributing to the intensity and moral reserves of the whole. But the characteristic of East Germany is the Biblical Protestant spirit of Dresden and Leipzig and Weimar. It is the spirit of Johann Sebastian Bach, whom the Communists have not dared to attack frontally because of the passionateness of the popular attachment to him. The furthest they have ventured is to make the monstrous suggestion that Bach was a forerunner of Communism.

Not only in relation to current world politics but equally in relation to the more important transcendental struggle between freedom and slavery, Germany is in the middle. Philosophers and missionaries spread their ideas from Germany all over Europe. German thought, Protestant, Catholic, and agnostic, was always particularly influential in eastern Europe. Communist control of East Germany is not less important in the clash of ideas than in the contest of industrial output and technology.

The Communists thought they could destroy Protestantism in East Germany as easily as they had destroyed or neutralized it in other satellites where Protestants were minorities. They did not understand the depth of attachment to religion ingrained through centuries, its association in their minds with all the things worth living and dying for. When a showdown came, the East Germans reacted with the same uncomplicated spontaneity as the Warsaw worker or the Rumanian peasant, with the same stark fervor as the Spanish monk. That is Europe, from Gibraltar to Petsamo, a tradition of faith, harmony, freedom, light, beauty, of the primacy of the human and the transcendence of the spirit.

When the Russian Communists occupied East Germany in 1945, they began their attack on religion according to the same formula they used in the other satellites, that is to say, by concentrating on the minority religion as the one easiest to subjugate without serious public reaction. In this case, Catholicism with two to three million adherents in a population of slightly over seventeen millions was the only minority religion of any importance. Jewry had ceased to count. The Nazis had killed or expelled practically all the Jews who formerly inhabited this region.

Catholics had also suffered, though less grievously, under the Nazis. Their educational and scholastic organizations, which had flourished amazingly under the Weimar Republic's constitutional guarantees of freedom of conscience and of religious practice, were gradually destroyed. The concordat of 1933 put Hitler on record as guaranteeing a continuance of the liberties in the fields of education and social welfare which his predecessors had recognized to the Catholics. But that did not stop him. Having used this agreement to eliminate the political parties of Catholic inspiration, he had no difficulty in ignoring it when the time came to destroy independent organizations in the social sphere.

In 1936 Pius XI in the Encyclical *Mit Brennender Sorge* denounced the growing Nazi threat to religion and to the basic concepts of western civilization, setting out in precise words the fundamental ideological contradiction between Nazism and the Catholic religion. Under Hitler, Catholic activity was progressively restricted and strangled until nothing remained but a skeleton of the concordat. In spite of the forthright opposition of Catholic leaders like the late Cardinal Preysing, Bishop of Berlin, the influence of religion on social and community life was eliminated and nothing survived but a limited functioning of religious services.

The overthrow of the Nazis raised new hopes and new problems for Catholics. In addition to problems in the material order resulting from the wartime destruction, the Catholic Church found itself in additional difficulties in the Soviet zone when Germany was split up between the occupying powers. In the several dioceses which were partitioned by the demarcation line, the bishops were seriously handicapped in carrying out their duties. Bishop Jaeger of Paderborn, who spent two years trying to get permission to visit the Soviet-controlled part of his diocese, only got the permits in 1947. Bishop Legge of Meissen has never been able to attend any of the annual conferences of the German bishops at Fulda, resumed in 1945 after having been interrupted for many years by the Nazis. Archbishop Muench, appointed papal representative, first with the title of Apostolic Visitor, now Papal Nuncio, has never been allowed to enter the Soviet zone. His appointment as Regent of the Nunciature in November 1949 served as a pretext for bitter attacks on Bishop Muench himself and on the Vatican by *Taeglische Rundschau,* Berlin mouthpiece of the Soviet Military Government. It called him "one of the general staff members in the Roman Catholic campaign in the United States for some decades" and interpreted his appointment as "significant for the alliance between American monopoly capitalism and the Vatican." All dioceses in the Soviet zone report vexatious restrictions on the movement of bishops.

Catholic and Protestant charitable organizations both had their problems severely aggravated immediately after the end of hostilities by the influx of millions of people of German ethnic origin from Czechoslovakia, the Volga, Poland, Hungary, Ruthenia, Yugoslavia, and Bulgaria. The newcomers were mainly descendants of Germans who had emigrated many generations or even centuries ago and had lost all sense of political and cultural identity with the homeland. Some Germans in Germany even had an antipathy toward them, blaming them for aggravating economic problems. The only people to whom they could turn for help were the religious charitable organizations, and these were overwhelmed by the vastness of the demands. The Sudeten Germans transferred from Czechoslovakia were in large part Catholics. The diocese of Meissen received 620,000, the diocese of Thuringia, 720,000.

The Christian political parties suppressed by the Nazis re-formed immediately after the war, trusting to the Soviet promises that the people would be allowed once again to control their own destinies. A fruitful cooperation was effected between Catholics and Protestants in the political sphere by the formation of the Christian Democratic Union, led by Jakob Kaiser, one of Germany's greatest Christian political figures, who was later forced to leave

East Germany and is now a member of the Bonn West German Cabinet as Minister for All-German Affairs. But the Communists very soon showed that they had no intention of allowing independent political activity. By a series of putsches they eliminated all non-Communist leadership of the Christian Democratic Union and transformed it into a Communist-front organization, in the same way as they did with the People's Party in Czechoslovakia. The process was completed when Professor Hugo Hickmann, its chairman in Saxony and a principal target of Communist attacks, "voluntarily" resigned in January 1950.

As in other countries which came under their control, so in the Soviet zone of Germany the Communists started out by proclaiming freedom of religious practice. But soon it became clear that the whole government machine was being thrown into the antireligious movement, and that the universal aim of the Communists to destroy every institution which challenged their control of minds and thought had not changed. By refusing allocations of newsprint, the religious press was wiped out. The only publication to escape was *Petrusblatt*, official weekly of the Berlin diocese, and the reason it survived was that it was produced in the American sector of Berlin under a license from the American Military Government. From 1945 to 1949 the Soviet authorities tolerated its distribution through the mails, but in April 1949 banned it, claiming there was "no demand for it." The publishers were warned that if they circulated the paper in contravention of the ban, "the addressees might find themselves in trouble." Other distribution methods were gradually stopped, so that by mid-1950 practically no copies were getting through. Other religious and devotional booklets and publications were also seized methodically in the mails.

Confessional schools throughout the Soviet zone except in Berlin were closed at the end of 1947, and at the same time the Communist-dominated Berlin City Council decreed that as from September 1948 the confessional schools in the city would be closed and a state monopoly of education created. The law provides that in state schools religious instruction may be imparted to those children whose parents expressly demand it, but the Communists do everything they can to prevent the implementation of this law. In Berlin, where 95 percent of parents had requested that their children be given religious instruction, the Communist school superintendents directed that an hour must elapse after all other classes ended before religious classes begin. In the State of Mecklenburg the Communist authorities stopped all teaching of religion in the schools on the ground that it was improper to use the same classrooms for teaching "both dialectical materialism and idealistic views of the world."

Elsewhere the Communists are conducting propaganda against the parents who favor religious instruction for their children and urging that parents have no business interfering in the schools. Parent-teacher organizations come in for the severest criticism. In March 1949 Dr. Walter Richlepp, former Chancellor of the University of Halle, Saale, who is responsible for educational policies in the Soviet zone, told teacher groups in Saxony that "all school activities in the Soviet zone must be conducted on the basis of materialistic philosophy." A manual of history written by three Russian historians, which has been made obligatory in the classrooms, states that science has proved that Christ never lived. In Thuringia the Communist-controlled education department ordered all religious emblems to be removed from public schools as "religious junk" that had better be replaced with the pictures of great leaders such as Stalin, Lenin, and Pieck. The recruitment of youth into Communist organizations has added to the difficulties of religious education, both because of the antireligious propaganda to which members are subjected and because of the planning of activities for times which make it impossible for members to attend to their religious duties.

Closing the final gap in the education monopoly, the Communists in January 1951 ordered the thousands of parents in East Berlin who were sending their children to Protestant and Catholic parochial schools in the west sector to register them in state schools controlled by the East German government.

Other state actions against religion during 1949 include a direction to members of the Socialist Unity (Communist) party to abandon church membership under pain of expulsion. In December 1949 the police in Eisleben, Thuringia, ordered several priests not to preach any more because their sermons were inspired with the "wrong spirit." It was reported from Silesia in November 1949 that the police raided the seminary for late vocations in Hohntal and forced all students to sign contracts committing them to six months' service at manual labor. Those refusing were sentenced to one year of forced labor. Two members of the police in Dessau were sentenced to twenty-five years of forced labor because they resigned from the police force and gave as their reason that their duties conflicted with their religious convictions.

From early in 1949 all correspondence and telephone conversations of the clergy were subjected to police censorship. In Saxony, Thuringia, and Mechlenburg, no gatherings were permitted under church auspices, other than religious services, without a police permit. A campaign to dismantle village churches, both Catholic and Protestant, was conducted during 1949. Protestant leaders announced in October that fourteen of their churches and parish houses in Brandenburg had been demolished in recent months, though none of them had suffered war damage. It was estimated that since the Soviet occupation 250,000 persons had been arrested, 100,000 "liquidated," and a further 50,000 deported to slave camps in Russia. Richard Horn, former mayor of Zittau, Saxony, a prominent member of the Socialist Union (Communist) party, proclaimed at Goerlitz the Communist objective to be the elimination of religion. "When the time comes," he said, "the churches will be used as stables for the horses of the victorious Communist armies."

Another instance of the drive to communize the country was a labor law of April 1950 fashioned on those of Russia. It provided that workers be paid on a basis of piecework and that labor norms be increased constantly (the speed-up and sweatshop systems), that boys and girls could be given light work in mines from the age of 16, that workers between 14 and 16 years old should work 42 hours a week, 44 hours between 16 and 18, and 48 hours over 18. The law also encouraged the use of women in industry. Expropriation of small business continued during 1950 despite an assurance in 1949 that there would be no more of it. In September 1950, 800 small enterprises in Berlin were taken over.

The Bishop of Berlin, Cardinal Preysing, protested in a letter of January 1950 to Vice-Premier Muschke against the atheistic spirit of the new education system and the suppression of religious instruction in the schools. But his protest and his expressed hope for better church-state relations went alike unanswered. Then in April the Lutheran Bishop of Berlin, Otto Dibelius, wrote to Premier Grotewohl to complain that pupils in the schools and men known for their religious sympathies were being subjected to antireligious influences and forced against their conscience to join Communist-controlled organizations.

Protestants and Catholic were alike victims. In January 1950 a pastoral letter was read in the Protestant churches and another in the Catholic churches on the same Sunday, protesting against the restrictions on religious freedom and condemning the materialist ideology of Communism. The Communists had got wind of these pastorals and raided the homes of the clergy to try to seize them and thus prevent their reading in the churches. But the clergy almost everywhere succeeded in secreting copies and making a simultaneous protest. As evidence of the new tendencies in education the Protestant pastoral cited the fact that teachers were telling their pupils that Jesus Christ never existed and that there was no God. Catholics were warned in their pastoral, signed by twelve prominent archbishops and bishops, that they would be refused the sacraments and even excommunicated if they cooperated in the Communist campaign against religion. Cardinal Preysing also addressed a memorandum to Premier Grotewohl similar in tone to that of Lutheran Bishop Dibelius, asking that the campaign to eliminate religion from public life and to propagate Communist teaching through the schools and other communications media be ended as contrary to the Potsdam Agreement and the constitution of East Germany.

With typical Communist duplicity Grotewohl gave an assurance to both Protestants and Catholics that the antireligious measures would stop. But almost immediately afterward a new edition of a

Russian history text written by Mishulin was distributed, bringing the circulation of this atheistic treatise to 80,000. All the Christian churches protested strongly against its blasphemous falsehoods, which include a denial that Christ ever lived and a description of the Scriptures as a collection of legends and myths. And a little later in 1950 the Secretary of the Interior announced that all religious holidays and festivals were to be banned because they disturbed the democratic order. Christmas was included in this prohibition. In November 1950 it was reported that toy manufacturers in Thuringia had been forbidden to make Christmas toys, especially angels and figures of Santa Claus, except for export. Instead, they should make toy soldiers and dolls dressed in Communist Youth uniforms and carrying Communist emblems. It was also announced that public Christmas observances with any kind of religious connotation were banned.

A similar decree had been issued in Saxony a year earlier directing that the Christmas vacation be renamed the "winter" vacation, and the Easter vacation the "spring" vacation. And at that time instructions had also been issued that "Solimann," a Communist version of Santa Claus, be used in the public schools throughout the Soviet zone to replace the Christ Child in holiday observances. Christmas carols containing any reference to the Christ Child were banned. These decrees were strictly enforced during the Christmas 1950 season, when every effort was made to stress Stalin's birthday as the justification for the holiday spirit. The Frankfurt *Socialistische Zeitung* went so far as to publish a Communist version of "Silent Night":

Silent night, holy night,
Worker's son, be on guard,
As your duty it is to fight
Until mankind's sacred night begins
And freedom comes to all of us.

Also in the last months of 1950 the campaign against distributors of religious literature was stepped up. In November the owner of what was probably the last Catholic bookstore in East Berlin was arrested for distributing "illegal" religious literature. Shortly afterward, Morlus Verlag, the last remaining Catholic publishing firm in the Soviet zone, announced that all efforts to get permission to distribute Catholic books and periodicals had failed.

By 1950 the Communists began to realize that their strategy of concentrating pressure on the Catholic minority in the hope that the Protestants would approve or at least remain neutral was failing. Catholics and Protestants maintained a united front on education and other crucial problems. One incident rankled particularly with the Communists, the simultaneous denunciation by both Cardinal Preysing and Bishop Dibelius of the concentration camps. There was an outburst of vilification against the two churchmen, although the regime recognized the solidarity of popular opinion behind their stand by announcing early in 1950 that the camps would be dissolved. Premier Grotewohl described Bishop Dibelius as a tool of the United States. And the press bureau headed by Gerhardt Eisler attempted to connect Cardinal Preysing's statement with his visit two years earlier to the United States, saying that Cardinal Spellman had then ordered him to rally German Catholics behind the cold war. The official Soviet military organ, *Taeglische Rundschau,* called him a gladiator for American imperialism. The Vatican, it said, was plotting with American business interests to maintain German partition so that it could set up a West Germany with a Catholic majority. In a triumph of imaginative documentation of its charges, it told its readers that the Vatican had swung the deal with Wall Street by investing a hundred million dollars from the Papal Treasury in the American Anaconda Copper Company and Sinclair Oil Company, and that the cold war was being directed by the Pope, who had nearly a hundred million dollars invested in Italian industry and over half a billion in that of France, who controlled nearly half the wealth of Spain, as well as tin mines in Bolivia, plantations in the Portuguese colonies, and the municipal institutions of Buenos Aires.

Another disappointment to the Communists during 1950 was the failure to win the approval of the churches for the so-called national front of democratic Germany, a Communist-controlled party into which the remaining political parties were being forcibly incorporated as the semifinal step in their destruction. The Communists were extremely anxious to make it appear that the churches approved. They published names of priests and Protestant ministers no longer living as supporting this national front. For example, in April 1950 they listed as a backer Reverend Ludwig Kirsch of Chemnitz, Saxony, who had died several months earlier.

Simultaneously they conducted purges of opponents in the parties being forcibly absorbed, similar to the purges in other satellites in preparation for single-party elections. The extent of the terror may be gauged from a report of the West Berlin Social Welfare Department showing that during 1949 and the first half of 1950 it handled between 85,000 and 90,000 refugees from East Germany.

But the churches stood firm, and Cardinal Preysing denounced the "national front" and forbade priests to lend it any support. The Cardinal's attitude remained unchanged up to his death just before Christmas 1950. A Christmas message he had prepared stated that respect for freedom of conscience and for the life and liberties of the individual were prerequisites of true peace, that those who preached hate could not be peacemakers. His words, released after his death, made a profound impression. The Protestant leaders also refused to collaborate, directing their clergy and officials to take no part in politics.

During 1950, accordingly, having abandoned hope of weakening the position of religion by creating dissension between Protestants and Catholics, the Communists made preparations to move in on both by means of the technique already applied in many of the satellites, namely, the creation of puppet churches. In June and again in August Premier Grotewohl promised his protection to clergymen who cooperated with the Communists, and threatened severe penalties for church leaders who punished their subordinates for taking part in politics or for supporting the "National Front." He also threatened to cut the subsidies to the churches if they did not become more cooperative.

Intense pressure was brought to bear on the Catholic Caritas social welfare organization. Communists tried to infiltrate its branches. Deliveries of coal and other commodities were held up in an effort to force its workers to join the Communist-controlled professional councils. Taxes were inflated by estimating the salaries it paid at a much higher level than actual payments. And early in the year Caritas was put on the list of reactionary institutions because it had returned unsigned the lists circulated before Stalin's birthday in December asking for contributions from all workers for "the savior of the workers." Listing as a reactionary body brings constant surveillance of the secret police and many harassments.

All the pressures and inducements of the Communists failed to make any impression on the solid resistance of the churches. Deputy Premier Walter Ulbricht personally invited 1,500 pastors to a conference and banquet in Berlin in September 1950 to subscribe to a declaration of support of the national-front candidates, friendship for the Soviet Union, opposition to the atomic bomb, and recognition of the eastern frontiers. The invitation brought only a handful of signatures (variously stated to be 15, 35, and 36) of Protestant ministers. One Catholic priest attended as an observer.

At this meeting it was indicated that in future only "progressive" clergymen would be allowed to speak on the radio, that theological seminaries would be incorporated in the Communist state universities and colleges, that all subsidies to the churches would be ended, and that public collections would be barred. Even Dr. Heinrich Grueber, a prominent Protestant minister who had acted as intermediary between the Communists and the Central Protestant Council (a controlling body of four bishops and five laymen with a synod of 100 members set up in 1945 for the Protestant Evangelical churches of the whole of Germany) and who had long favored collaboration with the government, decided after this parody of democracy that it was hopeless to negotiate further with the Communists.

As far as the Catholics were concerned, the Communists could not find a single priest of any standing to head a schismatic movement. In November 1950 they brought Czechoslovakia's Minister of Health, the excommunicated quisling priest Joseph Plojhar,* to East Germany to try and organize for them a spurious "Catholic Action" similar to that he had engineered in Prague.

In the last months of 1950 and the beginning of 1951 the Communists continued to predict confidently that it would not take long to break the opposition of the "reactionary" church leaders. In October, for example, Secretary of the Interior Hermann Steinhoff proclaimed that the "church problem" would be solved in six months. But before doing this, the Communists apparently want to make sure of their own position. In the process of absorbing the other political parties, they have taken in many members of whose loyalty they are uncertain. In December Walter Ulbricht, a former Moscow émigré now in despotic control of the party, announced that the greatest purge in its history was about to begin. All 1,200,000 cardholders would be investigated "regarding all phases of their lives and activities" between January 15 and June 30, 1951. It is evident that the Communist enslavement program for East Germany has still a long way to go.

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* According to some sources, Plojhar is of German ethnic origin.

12. THE FAR EAST

I. CHINA

VAST as are the differences between the circumstances of eastern Europe when it fell under the Communist yoke and those of the Far East, there has been no essential difference in the program of the Communists. Wherever they gained political control, they sought the physical and mental regimentation of their victims. As a first step to this goal they must eliminate organized religion, the principal weapon of defense against their form of enslavement.

The evolution of the Communist program in China is more advanced in some parts, less developed in others. China is a continent in size, as big as Europe, varying vastly in climate, economic development, social and political consciousness. The political control of the Communists has been exercised over part of the country for nearly twenty-five years, over the whole only since 1950. In some parts it is still extremely insecure. As in eastern Europe, the Communists make temporary accommodations and compromises until they are ready to strike.

China has a culture that goes back without interruption to the Stone Age, but in recent centuries it has lacked the dynamism which developed in western Europe a way of life that reached out over most of the globe to produce notable spiritual advances and perhaps even more notable advances in other directions. The Chinese strongly resisted attempts to absorb them into the orbit of the west, and even after their country was opened up, there were violent reactions like the Boxer Rebellion of 1900. Within China itself there were many who believed they could assimilate the good features of western civilization, and this group under the leadership of Dr. Sun Yat-sen forced the last Manchu emperor to abdicate in 1911. Dr. Sun Yat-sen headed the republic until his death in 1925, when he was succeeded by Chiang Kai-shek. From the establishment of the republic, the country was plagued by intermittent civil wars. In the north, in particular, the so-called war lords sought to maintain or establish themselves as quasi-independent princes. Soviet Russia, looking to ideological and political conquest, encouraged discord. Even Chiang for a time flirted with the Communists, but he soon realized that China's interests could not thus be served.

Then Japan, which for two centuries had been expanding at China's expense, struck from Manchuria to start a full-scale war that lasted until Japan's surrender to the United Nations in 1945. By that time the Communists, who had been growing strong in the north with Russian aid while Chiang was locked in life-and-death struggle with the Japanese, were ready to move in force. They seized much of the territory which had been occupied by the Japanese and, guided and armed by the Russians, they bore relentlessly southward while America and her allies debated about the desirability of encouraging the "agrarian reformers" to end the feudalism of the republic.

Throughout their history the Chinese have generally been eclectic and tolerant in regard to religion. At no time was there an established national church. Not only did different religions flourish simultaneously but individual Chinese tried to reconcile in their own minds the tenets of each, so that in modern times it was common for the same person to accept the main tenets of all of the traditional religions of the country. This was made easier by reason of the philosophical and ethical rather than doctrinal emphasis in these beliefs, which include ancestor worship, Confucianism, Taoism, Buddhism, and Lamaism.

Ancestor worship, which might more properly in its higher forms be called ancestor veneration, is a system of ethics rather than a religion, except where it has degenerated among the ignorant into superstition. Confucianism is a philosophy and ethical code with elements borrowed from ancestor worship. The cult of Confucius can be compared to the cult of great leaders everywhere. Chinese children honor Confucius as our schools honor Abraham Lincoln. This was explicitly recognized by the Catholic Church some years ago when it was formally declared that Chinese Catholics might give the traditional expressions of respect to Confucius. Taoism was originally a philosophy but in course of time developed into a religion with polytheistic witchcraft and demonology. Lamaism is a variant of Buddhism, which came originally from India.

These groups generally lack well-defined ritual or hierarchical organization, and consequently there is no way of estimating the number of adherents of each. Apart from the Christian denominations, the only clear-cut religion is Mohammedanism, which counts ten to fifteen million adherents, of whom five millions are in the northwest.

Christianity is no modern importation. The Nestorians had numerous adherents in China from the seventh to the ninth centuries, and Catholic missions began not later than the thirteenth century and soon built up to a membership of 30,000. In 1582 the Jesuit Father Matteo Ricci established a foundation which quickly became a center of intellectual and cultural life. For two centuries a Jesuit headed the Emperor's Board of Astronomy. The first Catholic church was built with imperial aid in 1650. Catholics then numbered 150,000, and 15 years later the figure had doubled. The emphasis on education has continued to characterize Catholicism in China from that time. Its schools, which by 1940 had grown to thousands, including three universities, were the channel through which the political, social, medical, and literary ideas of the western world flowed to China. Typical of practical contributions of Catholicism to China is Zikawei Observatory, one of the biggest private meteorological organizations in the world, with research departments in seismology, astrophysics, terrestrial magnetism, and geophysics. Its system of weather stations saves thousands of lives yearly by forecasting typhoons and plotting their movement.

Catholicism, while forming a link between east and west in China, was far from being a foreign element. Catholics, numbering between three and a quarter and four millions, are a cross section of the Chinese people. In every branch of church personnel except the clergy, Chinese are a big majority, and even in the case of the clergy the proportion is rising rapidly. In 1949 there were 2,542 Chinese priests and 3,703 Chinese students preparing for the priesthood (803 in major and 2,900 in minor seminaries), compared with 3,046 foreign priests in China. And on the highest administrative level, out of a grand total of 144 bishops and apostolic administrators ruling ecclesiastical divisions of the country, 31 are now Chinese. Chinese nuns numbered 4,717 in 1949 as compared with 2,036 foreign nuns; and there were 663 Chinese and 414 foreign brothers in schools and hospitals.

While the history of Protestantism in China is much shorter than that of Catholicism, many Protestant denominations played an important part in medical and educational work during the nineteenth and twentieth cenutries. By 1935 there were nearly 6,000 missionaries, with the China Inland Mission, the Church of Christ in China, the Anglicans, the Presbyterians, the Methodists, and the Lutherans most strongly represented. The Sino-Japanese war had cut the number to 1,500 in occupied areas and 2,500 in free China by 1941. The total number of adherents is hard to ascertain because of different standards used by different denominations to define membership. It would seem that communicants number nearly a million, and that a further million are in more or less close association.

Both Catholics and Protestants did heroic relief work during the Sino-Japanese war and subsequent wars against the Communists. The Catholics in the thirties had about 330 hospitals, many of them small hospitals in country places, and the Protestants had 268 hospitals, including some of the biggest in the cities. These Christian hospitals accounted for most of the civilian hospital beds in China. In 1941 there were only 43 provincial and municipal hospitals. The Japanese advances sent millions of refugees streaming south, and the Christian missions devoted all their resources to helping them wherever they passed. By order of the apostolic delegate, the mission grounds, houses and church buildings of the Catholics were thrown open to shelter them. A hundred thousand ward cases were received yearly in the Catholic hospitals and 10 million treatments were given in dispensaries. Sixty thousand infants were brought yearly to the Catholic crêches and 30,000 children were cared for in their orphanages. The 20 city associations of the Y.M.C.A. and the 27 associations of the Y.W.C.A. likewise concentrated on refugee relief, as did the hospitals, dispensaries, and facilities of the various Protestant denominations.

With the surrender of Japan in 1945 the Communists began quickly to reveal their customary opposition to religion, and as they expanded their control southward, they applied everywhere the same tactics as in eastern Europe. According to local circumstances the persecution has been more or less intense. In many parts their hold is insecure and consequently they avoid provoking the added opposition which results from persecution of religion.

The general picture by the middle of 1950 was that church administration was completely wiped out in northern Manchuria and that things were little better in central and southern Manchuria. In Mongolia the situation was less abnormal. Seminaries, schools, and hospitals were still allowed to function in a limited way. In northern and central China there had been little upset in the cities, but in the smaller towns and villages and in the country the plan to destroy religion was advancing like a steamroller, with many members of the clergy in jail or confined to their homes, and churches and schools occupied. The situation was better in the extreme west, while in the south, conditions varied widely from place to place. As in the rest of the country, the schools were being infiltrated. The missionaries were not yet expelled but they were being removed from positions of authority, and the curriculum was being revised to conform to the Marxist theory of education. The new attitude had been defined in 1949 by the Communist director of Shanghai's municipal department of education, who told the five main publishers of textbooks that all texts both primary and secondary would have to be revised "in a scientific spirit and from a really truth-seeking materialistic viewpoint."

While the materialist and atheistic view of life which the Communists are attempting to impose on all Chinese is as alien to the Chinese non-Christian religions as to the Christian, the weight of persecution up to now has been felt more by the Christian bodies. For this, there are various reasons. The normal Communist procedure is first to isolate the small groups and force them to accept Communist leaders. In addition, in China it is possible for them to misrepresent the Christians, just as in Rumania they misrepresented the Catholics of the Oriental Rite, as being an alien element and an ally of "western imperialism." Besides, the non-Christian religions have generally contributed little to education or social works and consequently do not control institutions which the Communists might seize and utilize to penetrate and pervert the masses. At the same time it is considered that the Communist indoctrination will cause the decay of the non-Christian religions more quickly than it will affect the beliefs of the Christians. The leaders of the non-Christian religions are being removed from all positions of importance, and the more or less superstitious beliefs which were all the practical religion that many had are being replaced by the superstitions of Communism. Only at one point are the Communists coming against violent opposition. Their efforts to propagate in the primary schools a motto declaring "I have no father, I have no mother, I have only the state" have been resented by a people steeped in traditional respect for their parents. Refugees from China in May 1951 quoted Buddhist sources as saying that the entire Buddhist teaching organization north of the Yangtse had been wrecked and that in other parts it was being steadily infiltrated. Very many temples had been wrecked or confiscated, with at most a small section left to the priest, who was being represented as a reactionary and a parasite in conformity with the universal Communist technique of isolating the religious leaders.

The tight-knit Moslem communities are likewise experiencing stronger pressure, just as they are in Soviet Russia proper. Their economic and social life is linked closely to their religious laws and customs, so that they reject equally the political and ideological aspects of Communism. Class warfare is particularly repugnant. Now (see page 18) the Communists are trying to wipe out Moslem law and customs as a preliminary to absorption. Reports during the early months of 1951 stated that resistance had assumed the proportion of civil war in northwest China, and that Moscow had supplied Soviet troops to help crush the revolt.

In the early stages the brunt of persecution was felt by the Catholics. The Protestant denominations were mainly active in the big cities while the persecution was first concentrated in the villages and the countryside, perhaps because in China the main Communist effort is directed to getting control over the peasants rather than over the industrial workers. But the turn of the Protestants was not long in coming. In September 1950 the Peiping radio announced that representatives of various Protestant bodies had signed an agreement with the Communists to purge themselves of imperialist influences, cut off relations with foreign bodies, and educate their members against the evils of "imperialism, feudalism, and bureaucratic capitalism." This declaration followed closely the pattern set in the satellites of eastern Europe, and it was followed by strong pressure on foreign missionaries. They were seriously affected by a decree of December 1950 freezing bank deposits and seizing American property in China, and by another decree of the same month which provided that American-subsidized cultural, educational, and medical organizations should either be taken over by the state or be transferred to and operated exclusively by Chinese.

In January 1951 it was reported from Hong Kong that large groups of Protestant missionaries were applying for permits to leave the country. Various Protestant bodies in the United States had either ordered or advised their missionaries to leave, so that in a short time few of the 1,700 foreign Protestant mission workers in China at the end of 1950 were likely to remain. The General Assembly of the U.S. Presbyterian Church reported in May 1951 that only 23 of its missionaries remained in China and that 20 of these were leaving as soon as they could get exit permits. Another report put the total number of Protestant missionaries at 200 and said all but five had applied for exit permits. Before getting exit permits, American missionaries had to present written guarantees from Chinese Christian friends that they would not criticize the Communist regime for ten years. It was said that Communist agents quickly reported back any violation and that the guarantors were severely punished.

In accordance with directives of the Holy See, all Catholic missionaries are remaining at their posts as long as they can, but during 1950 they were subjected to a campaign of mounting intensity which continues into 1951. Among the obstacles are restrictions on travel, heavy taxation, commandeering of church buildings, the indoctrination of young and old, the removal of priests and nuns from posts of authority, threats against Catholics who attend their religious duties. The Communists, in spite of their promises to end illiteracy, seem prepared to destroy education in their determination to eliminate religious influences. Confusion is spreading as the best administrators are eliminated. The students are told that discipline is undemocratic and that they must reject the influence of the Christian educators.

At the same time the Communists are making efforts to present their actions as directed not against religion but against foreign influences, imperialism, and acts contrary to the new order. A common practice is to condemn to a period of forced labor a priest who says mass and the faithful who attend. The charge is always one of "wasting time." There have been many instances of direct persecution. During the Communist advance, 87 Catholic missionaries, of whom 58 were priests, were killed. In one monastery alone, 31 of 70 monks were killed, all but three of the victims being Chinese. But generally the pretext for the persecution is other than religious, and efforts are made to humiliate the missionaries and present them as enemies of the people. As one missionary reported in a letter of August 1950: "We are not free. Our radios are confiscated. There is no end to the 'borrowing' of our personal effects and mission property. We may not travel abroad at will. Travel permits must be secured, and there is such red tape as to make it practically impossible." A later letter of December 1950 reports that a bishop, a nun, and two priests had been jailed. The Communists planted a gun in the bishop's room and opium in that of the sister to provide evidence for a trial. Another letter tells of a priest who had been 40 days in jail and was being tortured to force him to confess he was a spy; of another priest refused a permit to go to the country to give the last rites to two dying parishioners.

The policy proclaimed by the Communist government reflects the official Russian attitude which has been incorporated in the constitutions of the European satellites, namely, that individuals are free to worship privately as they please but not to propagate their religion, while the enemies of religion have the right not only to proclaim but to propagate atheism. The actual application of this general principle varies greatly according to the local circumstances and the attitude of the local authorities. Students and government employees have to submit to intensive indoctrination courses. Even where the denominational schools have not been seized, most of them have been placed under Communist administrations and have been turned into platforms for the exposition of Communism. Frequently permission is still granted to teach religion after school hours. Where religious teachers have been retained because there was nobody to replace them, they usually exercise a restraining influence.

No newspapers or periodicals now exist except those that follow the Communist line. The religious press has been wiped out, including an important Catholic news agency and several Catholic daily papers. But a Catholic book-publishing business was still functioning at least well into 1950 and there was a great demand for books and pamphlets.

The foreign missionaries suffer under the same restrictions as all other foreigners. No consideration is shown for their religious work or for the special necessity of constant travel to outlying missions and to attend sick calls. They move fairly freely in the cities but they encounter mounting restrictions in most country places. Foreign missionaries usually have no difficulty in getting permission to leave China, but no foreign missionary may enter or return. All the missionaries, both Chinese and foreign, experience many intangible difficulties and live under constant suspense. They are at the mercy of the authorities, who may at any time convene a "people's court" to try them on flimsy pretexts. One of the most constant charges has been that they perform no useful function, and consequently they are in increasing numbers taking up occupations which justify their existence on Communist standards while giving them the opportunity to keep in contact with their flocks. Many are turning to manual work, becoming mechanics, traveling doctors, commercial travelers, or shepherds. This naturally reduces their effectiveness by occupying a great part of their time. Even the bishops have often to adopt these methods to remain in their dioceses. A report of October 1949 said that Bishop Louis Lapierre of Szepingkai diocese in Manchuria was operating a bakery, and Bishop John Baptist Wang of Ankwo, also in Manchuria, was sweeping streets. Another bishop in China was a weaver.

Meanwhile from the end of 1949 the Communists set out, as in the European satellites, to isolate the bishops and priests from the laity and to persuade ambitious young priests to challenge the authority of their superiors and set up a national church. The Catholic and Protestant church authorities were vilified as reactionary and imperialistic, tools of the warmongering Vatican and United States. In October 1950 two Chinese Catholic priests were executed in Hopei Province on charges of espionage and terrorism. Two others were sentenced to long terms, and shortly after the Communists announced that one of these had died.

Arrests of priests became gradually more frequent. Some were freed within a few days, others were brought before "people's courts" on charges calculated to hold them up to public odium. A release at the beginning of January 1951 said that 21 Maryknoll priests had been arrested in the diocese of Wuchow in a month. The arrests of both Catholic and Protestant missionaries were said to follow a concerted plan designed to discredit all religion. Clergymen were often arrested without evidence and without charges, but usually manufactured or planted evidence formed the basis for one of the following charges: being an agent of American imperialism and reaction (concealing weapons, shells, radio transmitters, bribing Chinese nationals to act as spies), or being an oppressor of the people (defrauding workmen, selling opium, or selling relief supplies).

Toward the end of 1950, at the same time that pressure was being put on the Protestant denominations to get rid of all foreign ties and proclaim their acceptance of Marxism, the Catholic Fujen University in Peiping, which had been operated for 26 years by the American Fathers of the Divine Word, was expropriated. The Minister of Education said the Communist authorities were "temporarily tolerating" certain foreign-sponsored schools but the university authorities had tried to interfere with the state's administrative rights. This university had 2,400 students in 1946 while Catholic universities at Shanghai and Tientsin had 870 and 830 respectively.

A couple of days after the seizure of the university, the Communists disclosed that the basis had been laid for stripping foreign missions of all control over their educational institutions. The Minister of Education took over control of finances, administration, and property and assumed power to nominate and dismiss directors and staff, and to close schools. At the same time, schools were forbidden to close down without state authorization. Similar controls were imposed on all foreign-supported cultural, charitable, and religious institutions in the middle of January 1951.

About the same time the Red authorities developed the formula of the so-called three autonomies, self-rule, self-support, and self-propagation, applied first to Protestant groups but soon extended to embrace Catholics also, with the object of forming a single Communist-dominated Christian movement. A manifesto was issued under the signature of a young Chinese priest, Rev. Wang Liang-tso, and mass "accusation meetings" were staged to create the impression of popular support. In January 1951 Premier Chou En-lai urged a group of Chinese priests to follow Father Wang's example and break with "foreign imperialism." Subsequently it was established that this priest's signature had been forged and that he had never even seen the manifesto he was supposed to have composed.* The techniques already used in the European satellites were introduced. Father Chang Sze-wen was arrested in February and charged with sabotaging the "anti-American patriotic movement" because he repudiated as a forgery his signature on the manifesto. Various versions of this manifesto were circulated, designed to persuade Catholics they might sign in good conscience. Even some priests may have signed formulas such as that published in Nanking in March, claimed by the Communists to have been signed by 793 Catholics, which proclaimed severance of all political and economic relations with the Vatican while retaining purely religious relations.

The relative failure of these strategems may be judged from the fact that the Communists themselves boast of only 695 signatures in Chungking, which had 39,000 Catholics at the end of 1950, and only "over 100" in Tientsin with 50,000 Catholics. In May 1951 the Apostolic Internuncio, Archbishop Antonio Riberi, warned the bishops that even innocent manifestoes signed by Christians would eventually be used as instruments to enforce complete submission of the Church to the state, a warning that provoked a violent attack on the Internuncio in the Communist press for attempting to sabotage the "independent church movement."

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* In May 1951 Father Wang was executed by the Reds after he had protested the unauthorized use of his name.

The Communists seem to fear popular reaction if they expose too openly their plans to eliminate the Catholic missionaries. At every step they try to whip up popular feeling. Particularly notorious has been the campaign against the nuns in charge of orphanages which, because of the widespread practice of abandoning children to die in the streets, have always constituted a major activity of the missions. Many babies were brought in diseased, crippled, or starved, often even mangled by dogs. Deaths were consequently very high. In March 1951 the Communists arrested five Canadian nuns in Canton on charges of responsibility for the death of 2,168 babies since January 1950. They whipped up a nationwide campaign of vilification in the press, stating that the action of the nuns was similar to that of the Nazi "man-slaughtering factories" in Poland and the "persecution of Russian children in western Germany by British and American imperialists." Never before had the work of the nuns, established in Canton since 1909, been criticized. The orphanage was thoroughly investigated by foreign doctors and nurses when U.N.R.R.A. aid was being distributed in China after the last war and won unanimous commendation for cleanliness and efficiency. Subsequently the Communists denounced two orphanages in Nanking for "killing our young," and arrested many nuns. Editorial condemnations were captioned: "These are imperialism's works of mercy." Orphanages in Kiukiang, Kanchow, and Loting have similarly been denounced. It is believed that these accusations are laying the groundwork for seizure of all institutions operated by the Catholic Church. Those directed by American missionaries were seized by a decree of December 1950.

Pressure to force Catholic missionaries of foreign birth to leave China, as most Protestant missionaries had done, was increased during the first months of 1951. By April some 200 had either been expelled or placed in situations which left them no choice but to ask for exit permits. Every minor violation of the net of regulations and restrictions imposed on all foreigners was visited with imprisonment of uncertain duration. Prisoners in May included three American bishops, Frederick A. Donaghy of Wuchow, Francis X. Ford of Kaying, and Ambrose Pinger of Chowtsun; Archbishops Gaetano Pollio of Kaifeng and Secondino Petronio Lacchio of Changsa (both Italian); and Bishops Romano Boisguérin of Suifu (French), Arturo Quintanilla of Kweiteh (Spanish), and Charles Weber of Ichow (German).* A Mindszenty-type trial seemed to be in the making for Bishop Ford, who was led through the streets of Meihsien bound like a criminal, then removed to Canton and charged with espionage dating back to 1926, and with aiding counterrevolutionaries, spreading rumors, and drafting plans to sabotage the Communist-led schismatic movement. During April and May "denunciation rallies" were staged by the Communists to arouse public opinion against him. The Catholic Central Bureau, central organization of the Catholic Church in China, was ordered on June 8 to suspend all activities "as a tool of the imperialist Riberi." Its principal officers were held. Concurrently a press campaign was whipped up, urging the expulsion of the Papal Internuncio, Archibishop Anthony Riberi. Perhaps the most remarkable aspect of this and other actions against the missionaries is the effort to antagonize public opinion, revealing the depth of the popular affection for the persecuted ministers of religion.

II. KOREA

The religious picture of Korea under Communist domination is even darker than that of China. This country was for many centuries a semi-independent part of the Chinese Empire and like

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* Five more bishops were arrested in May and June. Bishop Donaghy was released in June.

Tibet it prohibited absolutely the entry of foreigners. Its religious composition was similar to that of China. In the eighteenth century some Korean envoys brought back from China writings of the Jesuit missionaries in Peking. A group of scholars studied these books and decided they contained the true doctrine. Two of the group, who traveled to China with the yearly embassy to the Emperor, were baptized. They in turn baptized many others and started to organize their own hierarchy. When the bishop in Peking informed them this was impossible without the proper conferring of orders, they brought a Chinese priest secretly into the country to minister to them. In 1801 he was discovered and put to death, but by that time there were 10,000 Christians.

In 1837 two French priests and a bishop smuggled themselves into the country. Two years later a fierce persecution broke out and the three missionaries surrendered to save their flocks and were beheaded. But others followed, braving even worse persecutions, and in addition to making converts compiled a grammar and dictionary of the language. Toward the end of the century the authorities gradually relaxed their attitude.

Protestant missionaries made brief efforts to win converts in 1832 and 1865. In 1881 a Scots missionary made some Korean converts in Manchuria, so that there were some Korean Protestants when American Protestant missionaries began to work in Korea in 1884 and 1885, following a treaty between the United States and Korea in 1882. The first comers were Presbyterians and Methodist Episcopals, followed after 1890 by Anglicans, Baptists, Salvation Army, Seventh Day Adventists, and others. The Y.M.C.A. was organized in Korea in 1903.

Bible translation and distribution, the publication of tracts and religious revivals were prominent features of Protestant missions. The missionaries were also very active in medical and educational work, pioneering in particular in the education of women and girls. They trained doctors and nurses. Severance Hospital, completed in 1903, was the first modern hospital building in Korea.

The Japanese in 1903 obtained concessions in Korea and during and after the Russo-Japanese war of 1904–1905 they expanded them into a protectorate, leading up to complete annexation in 1910. The mass of the people were never reconciled to Japanese rule and there were frequent revolts. Much of the best land passed to Japanese owners, and the development of the country was directed to strengthening the Japanese economy. Government schools never catered for more than a small proportion of the children, and much of the credit for achievements in education belongs to private organizations, especially the Christian missions. But even these missions were not allowed to do as much as they wished. The Japanese restricted their educational activities as part of a program of eliminating western influences. They also tried to wipe out the native Korean language and culture. After 1936 no independent newspaper in the native language was permitted. They encouraged their own religion of Shintoism, compelling the children in their schools to take part in its rites.

By 1940 the number of Christians was officially estimated by the Japanese at 501,000. At that time Catholics numbered 156,300, half of their 250 priests and 260 of 310 nuns being Koreans. They were organized under four vicars apostolic and two prefects apostolic. A large number of the foreign priests were Americans, and they were all interned by the Japanese in 1941.

What remained of the organization of the Catholic and Protestant missions north of the 38th parallel was wiped out when the Communists took over after Japan's collapse. Only a few Korean priests remained at liberty to give spiritual help to the 30,000 Catholics there. Bishop Boniface Sauer, veteran German Benedictine missioner, died in jail. Bishop Francis Hong of Pyongyang was seized in May 1949. Nevertheless the number of Catholics in the whole country had increased to 182,000 by 1949. In 1950 the Communists started the invasion of South Korea. During the subsequent occupation by the Communists, terrific destruction was wrought on all the missions. Their churches, hospitals, schools, and orphanages were destroyed.

Wherever the Communists went, they seized the clergy, foreign and native. More than 120 Korean and German priests, brothers, and nuns were arrested. One seminary was turned into an agricultural school. The church in Wonsan was made into a theater and the residence became the police prefecture. When the United Nations forces advanced northward, the Communists carried off their prisoners or killed them. A letter from Pyongyang of October 1950 reported that Bishop Francis Hong and every one of his priests had disappeared. Only five priests remained in Huang-Hai-Do. One priest there, Andrew Chun, had been hanged. Two nuns had been beaten to death and a third was dying from the tortures that had been inflicted on her.

The Protestants suffered as much as the Catholics, if not more, because all religions were equally hateful to these Communists, continued the Catholic priest who wrote the above letter. This was confirmed by a report presented in December to the Methodist Board of Missions in the United States. Half of the Christian leaders have been liquidated or have disappeared, it said. Educators, musicians, doctors, nurses, and especially Christians prominent in public life had been killed or carried north, Catholics and Protestants alike. In Seoul 13 Methodist pastors and 27 other Protestant leaders had not been heard of since they attended a conference with the Communists in July. They were believed to have been massacred. Similar incidents had occurred in other cities. Churches and their property in Seoul had been systematically destroyed, including the Christian Literature Society building, the Bible House, and the Y.M.C.A.

Bishop Patrick Byrne, Apostolic Delegate, who had stayed in Seoul during the Communist advance, was imprisoned with some 70 priests, 25 brothers, and 27 nuns, including the 81-year-old Father Paul Villemot and others over 70 years old. Nearly half the priests seized were Koreans. In July they were taken north by the Communists, and in January 1951 the Holy See reported it had news they were now held in Manchuria.

Every Protestant missionary in Seoul was likewise imprisoned, including the Anglican Bishop Cecil Cooper and Salvation Army Commander Herbert Ford. Many of the native Protestant personnel seized were killed. A report of December 1950 said that 40 Protestant ministers and 10 elders of Seoul were believed dead.

Under the Communist regime in North Korea the schools were used as in all Communist countries to indoctrinate the children in atheistic Communism. In public places they displayed caricatures of the Pope and other posters ridiculing religion. They removed crosses from buildings and ruthlessly stamped out every public manifestation of religion. These actions coupled with their savage war on religion since they invaded southern Korea place them in complete ideological agreement with the Communists of China, of Russia, and of eastern Europe on the need to exterminate all forms of organized religion in order to achieve enslavement of body and mind.

Charges of genocide were made to the United Nations against the North Korean Communists in May 1951. Colonel Ben C. Limb, Korean representative at the United Nations, said genocide was carried out in Korea first against the religious groups, especially the Catholics and the Protestants, and then against the nation as a whole, as a result of "a preconceived plan of North Korean Communists acting in conspiracy with the Soviet Union and recently with Communist China." The Catholic Church, he said, had lost six bishops and close to 100 priests, and the Protestant denominations had also lost many of their leaders. Civic leaders, and members of the intellectual and professional classes such as educators, lawyers, artists, scientists, and judges had been massacred. But Korea is strategically important to the Communists in their plan for world domination. And human beings, whether Russians, Lithuanians, or Koreans, count for nothing when they do not fit into the Commuist straitjacket.

EPILOGUE

IN 1917, while the first world war was still on, a group of Russian revolutionaries overthrew the liberal Kerensky regime and seized power. It was a minority. It neither sought nor obtained the approval of the people of Russia. Its strength lay in its unprincipled violence and in the weakness of its opponents.

The leader of these revolutionaries who called themselves Bolsheviks was Lenin. He had published several books before this time. Like Hitler later, Lenin told the world in advance what were his aims and methods. Some leaders of the west recognized the danger and attempted in 1920 and 1921 to prevent the consolidation of the new regime. They failed. Lenin and his friends became absolute rulers of the biggest political unit in the world, the Russian Empire.

Lenin was not a mere conquerer like Alexander or Napoleon. Nor was he an ordinary social revolutionary. He had a philosophy which he set out to impose on the nearly two hundred million Russians. This philosophy or way of life he called dialectical materialism. It derived, with variations and distortions, from Hegel, Holbach, Feuerbach, Marx, and Engels. Denying the existence of the nonmaterial and of the world of ideas, and affirming that everything man does is a reflex or shadow of matter, it rejects the standard values and notions of right and wrong accepted by civilized man in every age and clime, by Christians, Jews, Moslems, and Buddhists alike. None of the so-called materialist philosophies of the past went nearly so far as dialectical materialism in rejection of human standards and values. Lenin's system retained but one absolute principle, the primacy of utilitarian violence.

Faithful to their principle of domination by violence, the Bolsheviks took possession of east-central Europe, part of western Europe and North Korea in 1945, and in 1950 extended their empire to include China. As in Russia, so in each new satellite they set out immediately on the gigantic task of attempting to erase belief in everything higher than what they called the reality of matter, transforming and deforming to the limit of their ability the social structure of the countries they had conquered. The formerly accepted facts and principles of life were declared by them to be nonsensical or criminal. Should they ever become the conquerors of the United States, the application of the principles they have applied in their satellites would convert Washington, Lincoln, and Benjamin Franklin into traitors and would tear up the constitution and declare its affirmations of citizens' rights null and void.

The techniques of Leninism have been fully and openly demonstrated over 34 years. During Lenin's short rule, some two million political opponents were executed. After his death in 1924 anyone considered not completely faithful to his teachings was eliminated, silenced, jailed, or executed. Stalin is his true follower. Faithful to Lenin's principle of the primacy of opportunism, he has modified the tactics of domination to suit changing circumstances, but he has never wavered in his profession and practice of dialectical materialism. He formulated in 1947 a restatement of the essential characteristics of this philosophy, so that he is not only in the front rank of Russian imperialist conquerors but also a "high priest" of the Leninist ideology of violence.[*]

Contrary to popular belief, the Russian system is not primarily an economic system. It is a *Weltanschauung*, a way of life. It depends on violence as the means to compel the ruled to accept and profess without reservation its tenets. It is also a pseudoreligious system, because it demands an absolute acceptance of what it teaches; but unlike true religion, it seeks to win adherents by compulsion, not by persuasion. Bochenski[†] says that non-Bolshevik philosophers who have studied deeply the writings of Lenin, Stalin, and the minor Soviet "thinkers" are sometimes flabbergasted by the system's reversed theological character. It has a "scripture" as a basis for its doctrine, the untouchable and unchallengeable classics of Marx, Engels, Lenin, and Stalin. It has a "church" to watch over the interpretation of this scripture, the Communist Party's Central Bureau in Russia. Its "hierarchy" expands downward from the Central Secretary through Party officials to Party members, below whom again are the general mass of the "faithful." Deviationists are excommunicated by expulsion and punished by the MVD.*

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[*] Stalin himself is author of the chapter on dialectical materialism in *The History of the Bolshevik Party*.

[†] I. M. Bochenski: *Der Sowjetrussische Dialektische Materialismus*.

Since this system purports to control every activity of man, from science and literature to shoemaking and raising pigs, it must of necessity reject religion as a challenge to its all-sufficiency. Opposition to religion is therefore not a mere adjunct to Marxism-Leninism but of its essence. Atheism is the basis and pillar of the entire system and cannot be separated from it. It is the most important element in Lenin's philosophy. He himself declared that he was opposed not only to formal religion but even to philosophical idealism, agnosticism, and fideism, on the ground that such ideas would eventually lead to religion. That is why he and his followers oppose every manifestation of the human spirit. Lenin stated categorically, and this is still official Bolshevik teaching, that there exists an objective and absolute truth, and that this truth can be recognized. This objective and absolute truth is to be found in the decisions of the Politburo and the Central Committee of the Party. To declare that the truth is God, or even to doubt where truth is to be found, is consequently to be a deviationist, since the Party has defined the truth and presented it to all for acceptance. In Russia and in Communist-dominated countries there is no escape from the public acceptance of this "truth." It is not even enough to be an atheist. One must be an atheist in the form prescribed by dialectical materialism. Not only is there no freedom of religion, there is no freedom of dissent in the expression of antireligious attitude. Conformity is enforced by all the means at the disposal of the police state with its specialized techniques of torture and annihilation.

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* "Naturally this Bolshevik philosophy differs basically from religious theology. Religion teaches that the world is from God, and that the Scripture is inspired by God. One may refuse to believe that such is the case; but if one does so believe, it is logical for one to accord infallibility to the Scripture. The Bolshevik philosophers, however, do not attribute divine inspiration or assistance to their classics or to the deliberations of the Central Committee. They declare these are works of man, yet in the same breath declare they are infallible and inscrutable. Such an attitude is incomprehensible to the West European." (Bochenski, *op. cit.*)

"The Kremlin stands guard over the souls of its human charges with a watchful and jealous eye." (Walter Bedell Smith, former U.S. Ambassador to Moscow.)

Circumstances that need not be detailed here created a situation which enabled the Soviet armies to occupy an area in Europe of five hundred thousand square miles with a population of some 120 millions. The overwhelming majority of these were people who never wanted war against the United Nations, didn't want Communism, and most certainly didn't want the Marxist-Leninist version of dialectical materialism. Then, through a tragedy of almost cosmic proportions, China's four hundred million people came under the Kremlin's sway. The greatness of this tragedy lies in the indisputable fact that nearly all these people oppose and reject the system which has been imposed by violence and which is maintained by violence and the ruthless trampling down of basic human rights.

These developments have created an entirely new world situation because they have brought the Bolshevik system into direct contact with the outside world. The cultures of western Europe and of the East are alike being systematically eliminated by the imposition of the system of materialist terrorism in the occupied countries of Europe and Asia. As Zdanov said in Warsaw in 1947, "One knows sufficiently the passion and intolerance which Marxism-Leninism has never given up in its war against all its enemies." Every adherent of any religion and every upholder of any philosophy other than Marxism-Leninism is an enemy, and certainly all who live in the occupied countries know by bitter experience the passion and intolerance of the Bolsheviks against such enemies.

But one positive good has been achieved. The outside world is at last aroused. It has taken 30 years and millions of human lives. But it is not yet too late, though it is already very late.

This book has shown how the Bolsheviks have fought, persecuted, and sought to enslave every kind and form of religion in every country which has come under their sway. The attack on religion has always been a primary element in their campaign to impose their philosophy, because religion constitutes the most powerful bulwark of freedom, the symbol and expression of the spiritual forces which challenge their conception of man as a mechanical and material contraption, a cog in the machine of state. The war on religion has followed a consistent pattern, with no deviation from the goal but only variations in the technique as deemed expedient in the different circumstances of time and place. The chapter on Russia sets out some of those variations, and they are important because the Russians succeeded for a long time in deceiving some of the naïve social ideologists of the democratic world into believing there was a change of goal, perhaps even a change of heart on the part of the Bolsheviks, when in fact there was but a change of tactics. It must never be forgotten that expediency is raised by the Bolsheviks to the dignity of a first principle. In 1917 they applied their textbook principles in Russia in an effort to create a Bolshevik state overnight. But the experiment was such a failure that in 1921 they went back to capitalism and retained capitalist techniques for ten years until they had consolidated their power to the point where they were able to construct a terroristic totalitarian state.

In the same way they carried Trojan gifts to the European satellites and to China. In Europe they promised to create true democracies with equality and religious freedom. In China they were agrarian reformers. They did not hesitate to give guarantees and assurances until they had eliminated opposition. They even welcomed coalitions with other parties, but always ensuring that the police came under their control. Remembering the set-back that had occurred in Russia by going too fast, they modified the capitalist system gradually in each satellite, playing for time by concessions, seeking to enlist support from liberals and all who honestly desired social reform, fomenting internal divisions to weaken the powerful groups supporting democracy and especially the great religious bodies which constituted the focus of popular resistance. In each satellite, when opposition was sufficiently disrupted, a putsch transferred the machinery of state to the Bolsheviks, a sham parliament was elected on a hand-picked single ticket, new "laws" were passed to give the semblance of popular approval to the police state, and the parliament was disbanded, to be replaced by a legislature of members named by the Communist Party who proclaimed a Soviet-type constitution.

Concurrently with the destruction of political democracy, the war against religion continued. Remembering their experience earlier in Russia, the Bolsheviks usually avoided direct persecution and sought means to discredit the heads of the religious groups in the eyes of the populace. They tried to play off agnostics against believers, the Orthodox against the Catholics, the Christians against the Jews, the lower clergy against the higher clergy, the faithful against the clergy.

That this technique represented no deviation from the established policy of opposition to religion was made clear by Kravchenko in the following words: "Commissar Missonov has given the justification for the changed approach with this statement: Our new religious policy will be valuable in meeting the anti-Soviet propaganda of Roman Catholics, Lutherans, and other religious groups. . . . We have an opportunity to draw the Orthodox Church in other countries closer to Russia and to make of Moscow the Third Rome. . . . Don't worry about the coming generation being religious. . . . It is clear to everybody that a young man with religious leanings cannot hope to have a career. The comsomols may be a stronger force than the priest."*

Further evidence that the indirect approach represents no change of policy or of aim in regard to religion is provided by the following facts:

1. Not a word has been changed in the atheistic, antireligious program of dialectical materialism of the Communist Party.
2. The Communist Party is the sole power in all occupied countries. It denies freedom to every religious, intellectual, and political body.
3. Orthodoxy has been made into a tool of the Kremlin.
4. Protestantism, except in East Germany, is completely con-

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* Victor Kravchenko: *I Chose Freedom.*

trolled by leaders named by and subservient to the Communists.

5. As the Jewish religious and cultural leaders have refused to submit, the Jews are persecuted with the same fury as the Catholics. The same fate is rapidly overtaking the Moslems.

6. The Catholic Church, which commands the allegiance of the great majority of the inhabitants of the European satellites and which is the strongest element of opposition to the Bolsheviks, has been cut off from the west. National movements have been fomented within it, with the object of forcing its members into schism and wherever possible to absorb them into the Communist-dominated Orthodox Church and thus bring them under the jurisdiction of the Moscow Patriarchate.

7. Religious education in the schools, in churches, and even in private is being suppressed as rapidly as local conditions permit.

8. State salaries are offered for priests who accept the Bolshevik program as an inducement to split the clergy and bring them into the same condition of subjection as has been achieved in regard to the Orthodox clergy.

9. All activity, religious, social, charitable, or cultural, is forbidden to church bodies outside the church buildings.

10. No denomination may publish more than one or two strictly religious bulletins. Many of these are edited by Communists and all are subject to censorship.

11. No denomination may publish any books, even prayer books, without state censorship and approval. Such approval is nearly always refused on the plea of paper shortage or other indirect excuse.

12. The appointment of priests and higher religious leaders is subject to state approval, and in many of the satellites the state has usurped completely the rights of the religious rulers with regard to appointments.

13. Use of the radio is denied to all denominations.

14. All textbooks in all schools and universities are published by the state and contain antireligious and atheistic propaganda.

15. No youth organization other than that of the state is permitted. This official youth organization actively propagates atheism among its members.

16. Most of the theology schools and monasteries have been sup-

pressed. Those that remain are tolerated only for motives of expediency, and most of the theology schools remaining have been forced to accept Communist professors or at least to teach the official antireligious philosophy.

Yet the fact remains that the antireligious program of the Bolsheviks has not achieved its purpose. The Bolsheviks realize this, but they cannot abandon the attempt because their philosophy of dialectical materialism obliges them to destroy religion. While religion survives, Communism is insecure, and the free world can take heart from the testimony of Walter Bedell Smith: "The persistence of an independent spiritual life is at once one of the important and one of the mysterious things that have transpired in the Soviet state. It is important because it may one day determine the strength and the character of the Soviet national effort and its influence on the world. It is mysterious because it is impelled by forces and governed by laws of its own, which not even the Kremlin understands."*

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* Walter Bedell Smith: *My Three Years in Moscow.*

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